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The first season's plays will be "Julius Caesar," "As You Like It," "Romeo and Juliet," "Richard II," "Measure for Measure," and "Henry VIII." You can see them on your local public television station starting Wednesday evening. February 14th, and on alternate Wednesdays through April 25th.

The stars of these first six plays include Sir John Gielaud. Dame Wendy Hiller, Claire Bloom. Derek Jacobi, Celia Johnson, and Keith Michell.

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SHAKESPEARE



TIME

A Letter from the Publisher

or Correspondent Richard Bernstein, stationed for two years For Correspondent Kichard Bernstein, Stationed In Time's Hong Kong bureau, reporting on Teng Hsiao-

p'ing and his travels across the U.S. (see NATION and PRESS) proved especially dramatic and exciting. "It was a high point for any reporter who has covered China in the past," says Bernstein. "There was an unreal quality in seeing that leader of a once bitter enemy receive a 19gun salute on the White House lawn and be given a standing ovation by business and political leaders in Atlanta

The task of covering Teng's visit was made difficult by the size of the press entourage: 1,200 or so Western reporters. cameramen and soundmen, as well as 32 Chinese journalists, the largest press delegation ever to accompany a foreign official in the U.S. Says Washington Cor- A Chinese TV reporter talks with Bernstein respondent Johanna McGeary, who reported on Teng's White House visits: "It was one of the most

suffocatingly covered events to come to Jimmy Carter's Washington. Reporting this story required nothing so much as a sharp pair of elbows, a knack for getting into the right press pools and a deep reservoir of stamina." Bernstein likens covering Teng's visit to waging a guerrilla war against an army of



reporters as well as the Secret Service, which imposed espe-

cially tight security But Bernstein gladly accepted the battle conditions as a refreshing change from the traditional methods used to cover the People's Republic. Says he: "Except for occasional canned tours

inside China, we had to rely on the tedious scrutiny of documents, along with interviews with refugees, émigrés and other travelers. Now, even as Teng's trip inaugurates a new era in Sino-American relations, it also heralds a better epoch in China reporting, one in which we will have regular contact with the Chinese."

Diplomatic Correspondent Strobe Talbott was one of eleven journalists who had lunch at Blair House with the Vice Premier. "I guess I don't have to introduce myself since there has been quite a bit written," said Teng in the understatement of the week. Asked when U.S. publications would be able to open Peking bureaus. Teng referred to his meeting in Peking eight days before with Editor-in-

Chief Hedley Donovan and Hong Kong Bureau Chief Marsh Clark. "I told them," Teng explained, "that they should move from Hong Kong to Peking, and we would welcome them."

John a. Meyers

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Cover: Painting by Birney Lettick.



Cover: After 14 years in exile, Iran's Ayatullah Khomeini finally returns home. But can the venerable Islamic leader, whose summons to the faithful played so important a role in driving out the Shah, contain the revolution? See WORLD.



Religion: Pope John Paul II captivates Mexico's multitudes but stirs controversy among Latin Ameri cans with a speech condemning Marxistinfluenced "liberation theology" and rejects all political interpretations of Jesus.

A Great Leap Sex-

ward? Cardin will

would send Mao up

a collection that

show China a wow of



What makes a jack

slump? That's what

Superkid Steve Cau-

then ponders as he

keeps finishing up the

Teng's Tour: Trailed by a phalanx of officials and reporters. China's affable Vice Premier charms Washington, crosses the U.S., winning enby the tools of capitalism. See NATION.

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Con men sting Cuba in a coffee sale. ► Kentucky official shakes things up while her boss is away

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Like the opulent stage set it resembles, the late Ben Sonnenberg's mansion is being struck, its lavish furnishings sold

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resemble pussycats.

money for better

shows. For PBS and

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly at the subscription price of \$31 per year, by Time Inc., \$41 N. Fairbanks Court, Chicago, III. 60611. Principal office: Rock NY. 10020. James R. Shegley, President; Edward Patrick Lenahan, Treasurer; Charles B. Bear, Secretary, Second class postage paid at Chicago, III., and at additional No. 7 © 1979 Time Inc., All rights reserved Reproduction in whole or in part thuttour attein permissions or prohibitor.

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Letters

Brezhnev Speaks

To the Editors:

If Leonid Brezhnev [Jan. 22] can be believed, the Soviet leader is a master strategist. If he cannot be believed, he is a master politician. And liar.

Lockwood Richard Doty II Alexandria, Va.

In the Communist language, détente means surrender; peace means when the entire world is converted to Godless Communism. Every official in Washington should be aware of this difference in meaning, and not be deluded by Mr. Brezhney's yearning for peace. Harold E. Fuller

Green Bay, Wis.



The sad thing about Soviet-American relations is that while the Soviets may have a real desire for peace, American politicians get much more press and public praise for "hanging tough" on the Soviet issues. Tom Armbruster

Severna Park Md

Our conflict with the Soviets is not over any strategic nuclear attack issue, but over the kind and quality of our respective economic and social systems. If we allow inflation to go unchecked, continue to channel our technological expertise into "smart" weapons and away from better cars, more public transportation and alternative energy sources, we are giving the Soviets just what they want-the spectacle of a degenerating America.

William T. Scott Reno

The High Cost of Dreaming

Re "Inflation: Who Is Hurt Worst?" [Jan. 15]: boo, hiss to the American Dream! My husband and I now find that even though we have obtained that hallowed ground called "the upper middle class" we are hard put to have meat on

the table three times a week. We put off visits to the doctor. A family vacation nowadays is a joke. Most depressing is watching Congress continue to set up programs that we finance but cannot use because we "make too much money." So please tell us: What is the American

Dream? Just how long do you think the ever giving middle class will continue to support this country?

Joy Ross Brookfield, Wis.

I really got a laugh out of your statement, "But farmers have been able to insulate themselves from stunning increases in food costs ... by producing much of what they eat." We farm and raise corn and soybeans. We have a small garden, but we do not raise beef, pork, eggs, chickens, wheat or coffee. If we are only what we produced on our farm, we would be in a bad fix.

(Mrs.) Mary Sutter Cooksville, Ill.

It was sometime in the 1970s when my parents completely stopped reminding me how difficult things were during the Depression of the '30s. It looks like those

> Charlene Mesick West Palm Beach, Fla.

An Insecure Future

days are here again.

In your article "Trying to Slow Social Security" [Jan. 22], you suggest phasing out benefits paid to spouses who "do not work" because such payments are expensive and "discriminate against working women." I'd like to know what a wife who works for years at hard labor-cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, being nurse, adviser, chauffeur and mainstay of a home-does if she does not work. I would say that this kind of working woman deserves all she gets from her husband's share of Social Security. Mrs. Ralph W. Dexter

Narrowsberg, N.Y.

It is absurd and cruel to refer to former federal employees as "outrageous double-dipping" Government workers. My contributions to Social Security began on Jan. 1, 1937, and later to the Federal Retirement Program at a 7% clip of entire salary. I am now qualified both legally and morally to receive benefits from both plans.

Eugene E. Moore Florissant, Mo.

The Gripes of Academe

The article "Private Colleges Cry "[Jan. 15] further supports the fact that the Government is the drug dealer and the private sector is hooked. The plight of private education is the result of having taken the pill of happiness too of-



FVERY WEEK.





Letters

ten from Big Brother. Snob appeal and a dash of sound education will save a few private institutions.

Robert E. Ivancevich Evanston, Ill.

If the attitude that public colleges exsis merely to supplement private schools is widespread, it is no wonder private colsis widespread, it is no wonder private colopessite is true. In the unit color, and the opposite is true. In the unit public universities of suppeared, private universities could not educate the next generation of students. In the equally unlikely event of the disappearance of prilikely event of the disappearance of pritable the properties of the private of the privadle the job, but without the variety and frichness the dual system now affects.

W.B. Walters College Park, Md.

Pace University appreciated mention in IntE's article "Private Colleges Cry 'Help" "but we would like to clarify the misunderstanding that seems to surround our alleged "gobbling up" of Briarcliff College.

By March 1, 1977, Briarcliff was no longer able to meet its financial obligations. The college was \$5.5 million in debt, and its class of '77 was in danger of not graduating. Pace assumed Briarcliff's obligations and assured the graduation of the class, thereby relieving all parties concerned of impending calamity.

J.D. Graziono. Special Assistant to the

President for Public Relations Pace University, New York City

Oh, Brother!

If Billy Carter [Jan. 22] wishes to use his position as brother of the President for personal gain and publicity, thus becoming, to an extent, a representative of our people, he should also assume a proper stewardship for that station.

Rebecca Jannusch Green Bay, Wis.

No American should ever have to subject his personal life and private affairs to the dictation of any individual or group, or even risk such tyranny in a democracy. Billy Carter too is entitled to constitutionally guaranteed rights to freedom of speech and association

Tseng-Kang Lin Hartford, Conn.

Hartjord, Conn

As the daughter of Conrad Nicholson Hilton, I wish to thank you for your thoughtful article on the life of my father IJan. 15]. It was a fitting remembrance of a very special man.

Innkeeper to the World

Constance Francesca Hilton Beverly Hills

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building. Rockefeller Center. New York, N.Y. 10020

"The reports of my demise are greatly exaggerated."



Mr. Twain, we know what you mean.

We at NI-Gas know Mark Twain would have appreciated our position. All you seem to be reading and hearing these days is how this country is running out of natural gas. And the last two winters haven't helped dispel those rumors with the strain they placed on many utilities' supply.

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We have more energy aces up our sleeve that can take us beyond the 22nd century. To paraphrase another gentleman: everyone talks about energy, but at NI-Gas we're doing something about it.





Leaving El Paso after a quick stop across the Rio Grande in Júarez

American Scene

A Hippie Bus from Coast to Coast

How for Title Hollands. The green flyer on the campus bulletin beard promises the greatest little cross-country but ride ever. There's no bus terminal, showe \$10 and a return address under the front door of an anonymous San Francisco connection. Even then, just where or when to find the bus remains a most connection. Even then, just where or when to find the bus remains a most lettle you to turn up, with a sleeping bug at an intersection in the Haight-Ashbury district by sandown Wednesdy. Says a tendent "you might end up riding with a formal "you might end up riding with a formal "you might end up riding with a

The intersection turns out to be an entrance to Golden Gate Park. At sundown 40 people are crowded around a beat-up purple and white bus. Jeez, how will they all fit? Adam, a frizzy-haired, forlornlooking grad student in an orange serape, says at least six passengers can bunk in the luggage racks. It begins to rain, and soon sleeping bags are turning to mush. There was no receipt for that \$10 either. Will there be a seat? The woman was pretty evasive on the phone. All this secrecy, the whole scene, in fact, brings back college days in 1967 when you jammed a rug under the door and opened all the windows before you lit a joint

A young black woman named Saphire needs three friends to drag aboard a heavy wooden crate, a cross between a coffin and footlocker. Just in from Sonoma, Linden Brolin, a skinny, blond woman in jeans and a black T shrt, with her three-year-old son Björn in tow, keeps asking around for a place to park her camper till she gets back from Tuscon. You won't believe this, 'she confides, so the confides, and the confides of the confidence of the confid

As passengers climb aboard, the driver collects their \$65 balance. In cash. "Travelers checks are too hard to handle," the voice on the phone had said. Only 20 people get on; the rest are waving goodbye. Instead of regular rows of seats two sofas face the aisle up front. Beyond that, amidships, is a card table, one side supported by a length of nylon rope tied to a metal ceiling rack. A long, cushioned sleeping platform, raised about 2 ft, off the floor, fills the whole rear half of the bus. The ponytailed bus driver (there are two drivers aboard) tells people to take off their shoes, so the sleeping platform will stay clean. He says his name is Monksee and he even spells it out. He also ex-



Rolling across the Arizona desert on the way to slab ice and zinfandel



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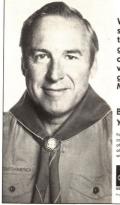
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When you help start a Scout troop, there's no guarantee one of the Scouts will grow up to go to the Moon...twice.

But you never know.

For all the facts on how your organization can support a Scout troop, call Boy Scouts of America. The Fundamental Bible Church of Milwaukee, Wisconsin did, and look what they've got to show for it.



Prepared as a Public Service by Faale, Cone & Beiding,

American Scene

no Interstate Commerce Commission license, so please don't tell aryone along the route you are a "paying passenger." The brochure promised that the drivers never drink or take drugs "while behind the wheel." It also made clare that passengers travel at their own risk. Björn is already swinging like a monkey from the already swinging like a monkey from the bound for North Carolina with her mother, purs and mews to imitate a view.

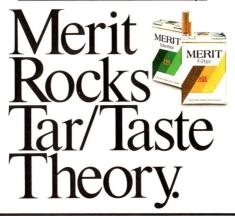
There is no bathroom. A funnel in the semiprivate stairwell up front is supposed to serve the truly desperate. Thank God, rest stops are frequent. There is a tape deck, though, with speakers fore and aft. As we pull out, the Beatles pump out Here Comes the Sun. And supper starts as some kind of spontaneous combustion. "I've got organic carrots," says Linden. rummaging in a satchel. Before you know it, dates, French bread, salami and a bottle of Mr. Wente's best Grey Riesling are passing from hand to hand. Monksee announces that he will be too busy to count heads after every rest stop, but he doesn't want to leave anyone behind. A buddy system springs up as spontaneously as food and drink. Dennis, the whale man, is matched with Linden and Jerry, a large. long-haired Texan who is taking the trip, he says, because he "just can't stand the craziness in San Francisco any more." It is Jerry who produces a deck of cards, and the first hand of what turns out to be a five-day rolling poker game gets under way, wooden matches serving as chips.

All this is oddly troubling, for it stirs memories of hippier times, the sweet side and the irritating side, that kind of compulsive counter-culture togetherness so full of pressure to conform in nonconformity, everybody maddeningly casual about who owns what. Ungenerously the traveler decides to keep special track of wallet and money while aboard.

People start falling asleep early. By flipping a few panels, the sofas and card table turn into more sleeping platforms By 2 a.m. there are sleeping bags as far as the eye can see. As the passenger stumbles among them a voice hisses, "There is room here!" It's Adam. He whispers that he is a biologist from M.I.T. Maybe that explains the serape. He was "designing an incurable virus," he says, when he realized what he was doing. He's been on the road for several weeks sorting things out. Daybreak and breakfast in Arizona. Sleeping bags are rolled. The poker game reconvenes. Jerry cheats theatrically When someone pulls a hidden card out of his pocket. Jerry acts flabbergasted to see it. Everybody laughs. Dennis proudly reveals that he has been an art-class model for five years. "I try to give them more than others do.

So does this underground Trailways. Last year its buses delivered low rates and lots of laughs to more than 1,000 coast-tocoast passengers. The prototype was a VW van on the Portland-to-Berkeley run ten

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Marty Costello happen to opt for a VW Rabbit? 'I was shooting for

the performance," answered See, every day Rabbit and ostello travel the 35 miles round trip from

Hammond, Indiana (where they live), to downtown Chi-

cago (where they work). That's a lot of miles.

And a lot of driving in temperatures that plummet to a merciless 20° below in winter and climb all the way up to a sticky, not-so-terrific 100° in summer.

"So why a Rabbit?" we asked

"Look," he said, "my Rabbit and I have been performing together for over a year now, and we're still going strong. Why? I'll tell you why. I get a lot for my dollar with it. I get a comfortable ride, great visibility, incredible road handling with frontwheel drive, and sensational service from people who are even friendlier than I am

Nicely put, Mr. Costello.

"And don't forget," he added, "my work has me hopping around all over the place. I need a car that can get me everywhere quickly and com-fortably. One that's rugged enough to be driven almost anyplace, anytime. With my Rabbit, I've got a lot more than just a car with enough room to lighting equipment. I've got a pretty good idea that everything will always arrive in one piece."

Then we asked Costello one final

"You seem to get a million calls a take?

To which he replied, with an appropriately devilish grin: 'Who's on first.'

American Scene

years ago. Its success prompted a flock of imitators, which still crisscross the continent summers and during the Christmas break. "We all know we're working on borrowed time," says one of the owners, who also doubles as a bus driver. "One of these days we'll be found out, and it will be over." At Big Spring, Texas, we have to trade drivers with the west-bound hippie bus. Dave, the night driver, has to get home to Portland. He passes a tequila bottle around as he leaves. "Well folks, it was really organic." Sniffs his replacement: "Smells kind of moldy in here." Very true.

In West Texas the bus enters a stretch of icy country that turns out to last some 2.000 miles, almost to New York, in fact. Wrecked semi-trucks and skidded cars begin to litter the roadside. At one stop, a shocked, trembling trucker keeps saying: "There were cars all around me, and this little one pulled right in front of me. I couldn't stop. I ran right over him.

Depression sets in as the bus is stranded in Arkansas for the night. But Monksee uncorks some wine, and soon the bus is rocking to the sound of Bob Marley, everybody chanting "no woman no cry" right along with Marley, Jerry and Sapphire dance in the aisle. "What would happen if we were on Greyhound?" someone wonders. Sapphire reaches for the zinfandel. "Gimme that infidel!" Jerry is blowing his harmonica as the bus fills up with the sweet smell of marijuana

unday morning. Slab ice forces the bus S off the road again in Carlisle, Ark. (pop. 2.000). As we stumble out, most of us disheveled and collectively smelling as ripe as backpackers three days out, we learn that more than 300 people are already stranded here from all over the U.S. and Canada. The Emmanuel Baptist Church has opened its doors to offer shelter, and this morning the church ladies are dishing up a free hot meal in the auditorium. "When we realized there were no rooms at the motel and bad weather in all directions," recalls Church Member Russell Thrift, "we told the boy down at the gas station to let folks know they could stay at the church. We did the same thing last year. Every time this happens, when folks are gone we find checks here and there, tucked into the pulpit or the music stand." A sign in the church fover reads NO MAN IS AN ISLAND.

Memphis. Greensboro, N.C., Baltimore. When the bus finally pulls into New York City we are close to three days late. But no one is eager to say goodbye. It does not seem to matter that the whole experience seems as corny as a 1940s movie. Roughing it, sharing everything from spare cash to toothbrushes, has formed bonds unheard of on Amtrak. Jerry, Ted and Susie stay aboard, heading for the last stop in Boston. As the bus pulls out, the traveler, walking away in the snow, hands jammed into pockets against the cold, finds that someone has slipped her the jack of hearts. - Janice Castro

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Nation

TIME/FEB. 12, 1979

Teng's Triumphant Tour

"A honeymoon." says China's leader of his search for aid and allies

March on, brave people of our nation, our Communist Party leads us on our new Long March. Millions as one, we march. march on . . .

 he strains of the Chinese national anthem sounded first last week on the south lawn of the White House, as summit protocol demands. Then the U.S. Army Band gave an equally rousing version of The Star-Spangled Banner. From a windswept podium on the crest of the low hill, the two leaders exchanged bland welcoming remarks, then mounted a balcony to acknowledge the applauding crowd of some 1,000 dignitaries. Suddenly, Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing departed from the traditional script. He impulsively

Houston, a Boeing plant outside Seattle. It will take months before the full im-

plications of Teng's visit are known. At the very least, his tour marks a dramatic new phase in the relationship between the two giant nations, a phase symbolized last week by the signing of scientific and cultural-exchange agreements, by the prospects of greatly increased trade and of another summit conference in China later this year. Over and over. Teng made it clear that he is urgently looking for American credit and technology to modernize his backward nation. The early signs are that he will get much of what he is seeking.

But in this sudden flowering of Sino-American friendship after 30 years of hos-

Atlanta, the Johnson Space Center in | SALT negotiations. This seemed to contradict Carter's past statements in private that the Soviets were indeed delaying SALT because of their concern over the new Sino-American relationship. Some officials suggested that Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko may have to meet to clear away the smoke from Teng's visit before the SALT talks can be completed and a date set for Carter's planned meeting with Soviet President Leonid Brezhney

The summit with Teng officially began at 10 a.m. on a gray and threatening Monday. Teng and his diminutive wife Cho Lin pulled up to the south lawn in a black armored limousine and were warmly greeted by Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter. Teng briskly walked down the line of

grabbed Jimmy Carter's hand and held it high. They looked like a pair of politicians just nominated by a national convention, and there was little doubt about which man thought he was running at the head of the ticket.

No gesture better captured the spirit and mood of Teng's nine-day visit to the U.S. last week. After surviving purges back home, setting his country on a quick-step march toward modernization, and winning diplomatic recognition from the most powerful nation in the West, Teng could be forgiven for indulging in a moment of triumph. His trip to Washington was the first ever by a top-ranking Chinese Communist leader, and it added a personal normalization of relations between the two countries to the diplomatic normalization that took effect on Jan. 1.

Washington responded by staging the most fervent welcome for a foreign visitor since Nikita Khrushchev came calling in 1959. Showing few signs of his 74 years. Teng rushed through a formidable schedule of official and semiofficial events. He talked for 51/2 hours with Carter, dined at the White House, lunched with Senators and U.S. reporters, sampled American culture at the Kennedy Center and barnstormed across the country. getting a firsthand look along the way at American enterprise: a Ford plant near tility-including three years of bitter warfare in Korea-there lie serious dangers of increased instability in the East-West balance of power. Teng was amply provocative in his warnings that "the danger of war comes from the Soviet Union." and Carter, perhaps unwisely, joined him in a new denunciation of "hegemony," which the Chinese define as Soviet

The highly suspicious and certainly angry Soviets, who have already been stalling on the nearly completed SALT agreement, protested Teng's "incendiary statements." Soviet Ambassador Anatoli Dobrynin went to ask Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for an explanation of U.S. behavior. Vance told him that the word hegemony was not intended by the U.S. to be anti-Soviet.

Reassuring the Soviets of U.S. evenhandedness has been an aim of the Administration since its recognition of Peking. Promised Carter two weeks ago: "We will be cautious in not trying to have an unbalanced relationship [with] China and the Soviet Union." But his willingness to let Teng denounce the Soviets on U.S. soil and the use of the buzzword hegemony will now make that balancing act more difficult. Just how much was a subject of disagreement. A White House aide insisted that Carter believes there will be no effect on U.S.-Soviet relations or the 35 U.S. dignitaries, shaking hands with the zest of a U.S. politician, and then clambered onto the small red-carpeted reviewing stand. The wind gusted so hard that Rosalynn reached out to steady Cho Lin as she wobbled on the steps.

t is a time when family quarrels are forgotten," said Carter in his welcoming speech. Suddenly, a woman standing among reporters about 20 ft. from the podium began waving a copy of Mao Tse-tung's Little Red Book and screaming, "Teng is a murderer!" No sooner had U.S. Secret Service men dragged her away than a man perched on a platform erected for TV cameras shouted a paraphrase of one of Mao's sayings: "You cannot make this a garden party! You cannot stop the revolution!" Secret Service men carted him away too. Both were reporters for a Maoist press service in Seattle and had used their press credentials to get onto the south lawn. Unperturbed, Carter spoke steadily on, missing not a line, but Teng looked startled and Rosalynn later admitted that she had been frightened. "I wondered how many more there would be," she murmured. None, it turned out. About 800 other demonstrators, including Maoists, anti-Communist Chinese and anti-Nationalist Taiwanese, were kept behind barricades, well away from the White House.



At attention during the national anthems; below: signing agreements



When the time came for Teng to speak, the barely 5-ft. Vice Premier mounted a booster step so that he could see over the lectern. Speaking in his thick Szechwan accent, he talked of the "great possibilities," "broad vistas" and "fruitful results" that Sino-American cooperation offered.

The serious business of the summit began at 11 a.m., when Carter ushered Teng to his seat at the highly polished mahogany table in the Cabinet Room. "May I smoke?" asked the Vice Premier, pulling out a pack of Chinese-made Panda filtertip cigarettes. Soon the air was thick with smoke. And soon the two leaders discovered that they liked dealing with each





Leaders and wives on the platform

other. There was no posturing and no haggling during the three face-to-face sessions. At one point, Michel Oksenberg, the National Security Council's China specialist, slid a scribbled note across the table to Presidential Aide Hamilton Jordan. The euphoric message: "This is a historic meeting. You are witnessing the takeoff of Sino-American relations. Another White House aide said of Carter and Teng: "It's impossible to exaggerate the significance of their personal rapport. There's a feel to the relationship that will set the tone for the future.

Carter and Teng did all of the talking, despite the presence of phalanxes of aides. They included Vice President Walter Mondale. Secretary of State Vance and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski on the American side: Vice Premier and Science Adviser Fang Yi



Nixon and Kissinger in the East Room

and Foreign Minister Huang Hua on the Chinese side. The first two sessions -3 hr. 45 min. on Monday and 1 hr. 50 min. on Tuesday-ranged over the troubles in Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, the Middle East, southern Africa, Central Europe, Korea and Indochina. During an exchange of views on emigration. Carter and Teng engaged in some banter. "You can have 10 million Chinese if you wish." the Vice Premier said, hawking and spitting into a spittoon at his feet. "In that case, we'll send you 10,000 journalists," said Carter. That was enough on that subject.

There was no levity when the leaders turned to two Chinese obsessions: the Soviet Union and Taiwan. In an interview with TIME on the eve of the summit. Teng had delivered a scathing attack on Moscow, describing the Kremlin as "the true hotbed of war" and saying that if China. Japan and the U.S. "really want to be able to place curbs on the polar bear, the



The President offering a toast to the Vice Premier after dinner

only realistic thing for us is to unite." In private talks with Teng. Administration officials stressed that the U.S. wanted to treat Moscow and Peking evenhandedly. Vice President Mondale told TIME: "The President made it clear to Vice Premier Teng that we want a warm. but correct, relationship-not one of alliance but of cooperation." Carter urged Teng to look at things from the Soviet perspective. It was pointed out that Moscow claims to be as anxious about the Chinese masses on its eastern frontier as Peking is about the Soviet military buildup.

Teng disagreed, insisting that Soviet policies are essentially aggressive. He did not actually oppose the prospective SALT treaty, but he repeated to Carter his view stated to TIME that the U.S. should not expect much from SALT. According to a White House aide, Teng told Carter that "SALT cannot supplant the need for de-

Acknowledging the audience's applause at Kennedy Center; greeting the Globetrotters after the gala





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cisive action in other ways." He did not spell out what other ways he had in mind. On Capitol Hill, Teng's warning about SALT may well have caused a couple of Senators to change their votes, lessening the Administration's chances of getting a treaty ratifier.

In public, Teng at the outset mentioned the Soviets only obliquely. As the week progressed, however, he sharply-eculated his attacks. During a visit to cataled his attacks. During a visit to ample, he startled 1,000 guests by saying ample, he startled 1,000 guests by saying attack the "danger of a new world war" was increasing because of the Kremlin's "cwald domination". Scon. with no objections our pushing of global strategy for any any tentral progression of the public appearances into forums for assaults on the Soviets, though he took care to do

ment officials strongly advised against any mention of hegemony. But Carter decided to go along with the reasoning of White House advisers who maintained that there had been "no big hassle" when the same code word had appeared in previous Sino-American declarations. It was Brzezinski, in fact, who suggested that the addition of "domination" would moderate the irritating aspects of "hegemony." This mysterious reasoning apparently persuaded Vance, and at a meeting between the two men, he went along with Brzezinski's view. Said one senior Carter aide: "The Chinese got 'hegemony,' we got 'domination.' The compromise was an example of traditional Chinese wisdom." Added a White House official: "We have no problem with the word 'hegemony' even if it does upset Moscow." At the State Department, however, senior diplomats reunless it has to "If they refuse to negotiate." he asked House Speaker Tip O'Neill, "what are we to do?" But Teng promised the Senators and Congressmen that after reunification, Taiwan can retain its capitalistic economy and even its armed forces.

hese reassurances won Teng high marks from all but the most diehard supporters of Taiwan. Chief among them is Senator Barry Goldwater, who ducked Teng's visit by going home to Arroma for the week. But another cornservative leader. Republican Senator Paul Laall of Newada, called Senator Paul Laall of Newada, called Senator Teld Kengung and the Senator Paul Vice Premier had made a "hell of an impression." Said Republican Senator Jacob Justis of New York: "He didn't commit





Touring a Ford assembly plant near Atlanta; at the controls of a simulated space shuttle in Houston

so only when top U.S. officials were not | mained dismayed by the pugnacious ges-

The Soviets at first scarcely mentioned Teng's trip. Then, angered by his denunciation. Pravda blasted Teng for "rabid anti-Sovietism and hostility toward the policy of relaxation of international tension." The Soviets, however, seemed to recognize that the Administration was rying to put listed at a distance from rabid properties. This Soviet attacks on the Chinese leader spared Carter.

The Administration confused the situation even more by agreeing to a joint communique that condemned efforts by communique that condemned efforts by domination to stabilish thegemony or domination of the stabilish that the stabilish domination of the stabilish that the stabilish that the stabilish that the stabilish that the LOS had announced that there would be no communique, partly to avoid intricate arguments over semantic difficulties such as this. When the White House proposed a joint statement after all. State Departmained dismayed by the pugnacious gesture, which was not discussed in advance with the department's top Soviet experts.

Teng was also obdurate on the subpect of Taiwan. Carter pressed him for explicit assurances that China would not use force to unify the island with the mainforce to the control of the control of the "We Teng retired," and the control of the "We Teng the Control of the Control of Taiwan to the mainland... If we are to commit ourselves to not using armed force at all. it would be the equivalent of tying up the Nationalisti. The Nationalistic may negotiations with the Nationalisti.

Taiwan also dominated Teng's talks in another forum: Capitol Hill. He lunched with 85 Senators, drank tea with 80 Congressmen and chatted privately with Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd and House leaders. The Vice Premier repeatedly told his congressional hosts that Peking will not use force against Taiwan.

himself down the line [on Taiwan], but he said enough so that our normalization can go ahead."

During their third session of talks on Tuesday, Carter and Teng spent 25 minutes alone, with just an interpreter, in the Oval Office. White House aides refused to disclose anything at all about the exchange except that it was "extremely useful." Carter and Teng then moved back to the Cabinet Room to discuss ways to improve business relations. They came so close to settling the problem of frozen assets (\$76 million held by the U.S.; \$197 million by the Chinese) that Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal is expected to have little trouble concluding a trade agreement when he goes to Peking later this month

Next. Carter and Teng reached quick agreement on five accords that had largely been worked out ahead of time by aides. Signed the following day, the pacts only



Cho Lin playing with the patients at Washington Children's Hospital

Old Acquaintance at First Sight

The stagecoach at the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology fiscinated her because she and her hashad enjoy the western movies newly available in China. The general store transplanted from the folials of West Virginia prompted her to eask fif it had been a co-op. But it was the reconstructed kitchen of an Italian immigrant of the 1920s that elicited her greatest admiration. Although it was supposed to the store of the grants. Cho Lin, the warm and plump wife of Teng Hsiao-ping, saw it quite differently. "The vectariathy had high living standards," she marveled.

Cho Lin was born in 1916 to a landlord of the Yunnan province in southern China. She quit college in Peking and pined the Communists after Mao's Long March of the mid-1930s. She soon met Teng, one of the party's rising stars. Teng had apparently shandned a first wife, betrothed to him by his parents without his consent, and had lost his second wife, perhaps during the Long March. He and Cho Lin were married in 1940.

Cho Lin remained in the background and raised four children during her husband's rise. Both times when he was purged, she followed him into rural exile. But when he journeyed to Japan last fall, she adopted a public role, standing ceremonicusly by his side and visiting schools and factories. She also took on a sensitive post in the Communist Party's Military Advisory Commission, reportedly to keep watch on security matters for her husband. But she has no political strength of her own and is not a member of the ruling Politiburo.

Only one Chinese woman holds a top post through her own merit or political power. Chen Mu-hua, the Minister of Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. Said Cho Lin in her toast at a State Department lunch: "Your striving for liberation has always been admired by women in China. American women are making a growing impact on change and progress in American society. We have much to learn from you."

Cho Lin displayed a special fondness for children (she and Teng have two grandchildren), particularly Amy Carter. She held hands with Amy

during the entire gala performance at the Kennedy Center, visited the Chinese pandas at the National Zoo with her, and dropped in at her sixth-grade math class. She asked that her schedule be changed so that she would have twice as much time at a children's hospital.

With her gracious comments, warm smile, and steelrimmed glasses slipping down her nose, Cho Lin seemed to reconfirm an old Chinese saying that she quoted: "We become old acquaintances at first sight."



With Mrs. Carter at a reception

modestly advanced relations between the two countries, but they served as tokens of the payoff that normalization is supposed to bring. The U.S. agreed to let Peking open consulates in Houston and San Francisco in exchange for American consulates in Canton and Shanghai. The U.S. also promised to sell China on credit a communications satellite system that will cost about \$500 million, and a 50-billion electron-volt accelerator, used in nuclear research. This would cost up to \$200 million and would be the largest such installation in China, but only one-eighth the energy of one now operating at Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory in Batavia, Ill. Finally, the two countries formally agreed to exchanges of scholars, journalists and cultural groups. To head off any worries in Moscow about the agreements. the Administration emphasized that the U.S. was not providing Peking with anything that the Soviets do not already have.

in an East Room packed with Cabinet members. Senators. Congressmen and Chinese officials. Carter termed the three days of talks with Teng "truly exceptional." The President added: "We have charted a new and irreversible course toward a firmer, more constructive and a more hopeful relationship." Teng's ephy weim: "We have just done a significant job. This is not the end, but a beginning."

At the end of the signing ceremony.

 he talks with Carter were only one of Teng's purposes in coming to the U.S. Another was, as he put it, "to get to know all about American life." He actually began these lessons on Sunday evening, just a few hours after his blue and white Chinese Boeing 707 touched down at Andrews Air Force Base. Teng, his wife and other top members of his delegation were whisked off to Brzezinski's home in suburban Virginia for a roast beef dinner that was cooked by Brzezinski's wife Emilie and served by their three children. Included among the guests were Secretary of State Vance and Leonard Woodcock, Carter's nominee as U.S. Ambassador to Peking. Despite the rigors of the 18-hour flight from Peking, Teng was in fine spirits. He was asked at one point whether he ever ran into criticism from provincial officials, comparable to criticisms of Carter in the U.S. Senate. He replied with a grin: "From only one province-Taiwan." Later, Brzezinski recalled how his wife, during their trip to Peking last May, had breached diplomatic protocol by offering a toast. Joshed Vance: "There'll be no more of that." Interjected Teng: "If you silence her, you will be violating her human rights. The social high point of Teng's visit

to Washington occurred the following might, after he had put in a stremous day of talks with Carter that did not end until 5:55 p.m. Just 35 minutes later, looking fresh and beaming, the septuagenarian and his wife arrived at the North Portico of the White House for the state

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dinner in their honor. The full-dress arrangements had been supervised by Rosalynn Carter, from the menu (yeal and broccoli) to the centerpieces of red, pink and white camellias, which are native to Cho Lin's home province of Yunnan. Rosalynn also oversaw the pruning of the guest list to 140 dignitaries, which made the tickets the toughest to obtain in Washington in years. The invitations went mostly to high Government officials but also to eleven industrialists who are eager to cash in on the China rapprochement. One of them thrust his business card into Teng's hand while he stood in the receiving line

he most controversial guest was Richard Nixon, whom Teng had asked to see because his 1972 trip to Peking began the chain of events that led to normalization of relations. It was Nixon's first visit to the White House since his resignation in 1974, and there were some awkward moments. Speaker O'Neill's wife refused to sit at the same table with him. The former President staved in a corner of the East Room during cocktails, talking with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "I said that I was glad to see him again," said Kissinger afterwards, "and he seemed happy to be back. We retired people reminisce about ourselves, not about the Chinese. It was a rather emotional conversation." At dinner Nixon sat across from Brzezinski, who asked him





Teng inspecting a Brahma bull in Texas Yelled the crowd: "Whoopee!

what leaders he admired most. "You won't catch me naming them," said Nixon, then could not resist citing Charles de Gaulle, the Shah of Iran and Chiang Kai-shek

After dinner the festivities continued at the Kennedy Center, with an hour-long variety show that included excerpts from the Broadway musical Eubie, the Joffrey

Ballet dancing Rodeo, Rudolf Serkin playing a Schubert impromptu and John Denver singing Rocky Mountain High. Then came a surprise for basketball fan Teng. the clowning of the Harlem Globetrotters. Teng also clearly enjoyed the singing of I Love Tien An Men Square, in Chinese. by the 80-member National Children's Choir. After the show the Carters, Teng. and his wife, who was holding hands with Amy Carter, rushed up to shake hands with the Globetrotters and kiss the children. Carter finally exited with Teng stage left, his arm draped casually around the

Vice Premier's stocky shoulders. Teng took his show on the road early Thursday morning. He was accompanied by U.S. Trade Negotiator Robert Strauss. Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps and two planeloads of lesser officials, reporters and cameramen-a total of 290, one of the largest entourages ever to follow a foreign dignitary on a tour of the U.S. (notably ab-

sent: any Soviet press representative). The first stop was Atlanta, where the Vice Premier was welcomed enthusiastically by 1.500 people at a \$20-a-plate luncheon in the ballroom of the gleaming 73-story Peachtree Plaza Hotel. The guests included former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, once an implacable foe of Chinese Communism, who chatted amiably during lunch with Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua. In the audience were several hundred bankers and heads of corporations, and Teng directed most of his remarks toward them. Said he:

"Virtually Everything Needs to Be Done"

e must foster lofty ideals and set high goals, work out a strategic plan, fully mobilize all positive factors and organize all our forces well." So said Fang Yi, China's powerful but little-known Vice Premier and Minister of Science and Technology. The occasion was his announcement last year of China's audacious plan to overcome a lag

of 15 to 20 years and by the year 2000 reach the scientific level of the advanced industrial world. Last week, while Teng Hsiao-p'ing politicked his way across the nation. Fang embarked on what was in effect his own separate tour of the U.S. technological landscape.

A scholarly man of 69, his face blemished by a large purple birthmark, Fang is not a scientist. He was an editor at China's leading publishing house, the Shanghai-based Commercial Press, before joining the Communist Party in 1936. A military commissar during World War II, he worked his way up through a series of economic posts to become Vice Minister of Finance in 1953, coordinator of China's North Viet Nam aid program in 1956, and director of China's entire foreign aid program during the 1960s. A protégé of Premier Chou En-lai, Fang managed to avoid being purged during the Fang Yi viewing solar power in Georgia

Cultural Revolution, but it was not until Teng rose to power again in 1977 that Fang achieved his present eminence. Virtually everything needs to be done." Fang has said

in summarizing China's technological position. As president of China's Academy of Sciences, he is interested in all areas of direct scientific research. After a talk last week with White House Science Adviser Frank Press on fu-

ture Chinese-American projects, Fang left for Atlanta's Georgia Institute of Technology. There he inspected the Landsat photographs surveying natural resources and a solar-energy farm that can produce 400 kw of electricity. In Houston, he visited the Texas Medical Center, M.D. Anderson Hospital and Methodist Hospital. But the highlight of Fang's U.S. trip was Los Angeles. Fang was given a detailed tour of Lockheed's L-1011 assembly plant at nearby Palmdale and shown the company's closely guarded research laboratory at Rye

Fang now must ponder China's plan to develop modern technology. This, as expressed by his Academy of Sciences predecessor, Kuo Mo-jo, will be "a magnum opus" which will "not be written on limited reams of paper but in the universe that knows no bounds."



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"There is much in your experience from which we can benefit. We would like to learn from you." Several members of the audience sounded eager to teach him.

"What we're talking about here is money," Accountant Will Kidd murmured to a luncheon guest. Added Lawyer Thomas Lamar Jr.: "This is a booster town. It doesn't worry so much about political stripes."

Teng moved quickly to his favorite theme: "The danger of world war remains, and hegemonism is the greatest threat to world peace and security." He pointedly cited the similar statement in

the Sino-U.S. communiqué as one of "far-reaching significance." By carrying this anti-Soviet message to Atlanta, he was in a sense appealing directly to the people, over the heads of their leaders in Washington. He received a standing ovation.

fter lunch, at the insistence of Southern black leaders. Teng stopped at the grave of Martin Luther King Jr., where he bowed three times and laid a wreath. Then he went to a Ford Motor Co. plant outside Atlanta, which last year assembled 183,000 LTDs-14 times the number of cars annually produced in all of China. Driving in a golf cart with Guide Henry Ford II around the 1.8 million-sq.-ft. plant, Teng watched workmen install windshield wipers and air cleaners. He asked the plant manager questions about manufacturing and discussed working conditions with Walter Hood, 28, who said he earns \$325 a week bolting car bodies to chassis. By contrast, the average factory worker's salary in China is about \$30 a month

Next day Teng flew to Houston. He found Texans eager to sell oil drilling rigs to his country, though wary of his politics. But conservative Governor William Clements, the millionaire founder of Sedco, an oil drilling firm, had

no qualms. "Treat him with the same hospitality as a guest in our home," he advised Texans, and they responded by providing Teng with the most fun of the week.

At the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, Teng squeezed into the co-pilot's seat of a mock space shuttle that is used to train the astronauts who will make the first actual shuttle flight, scheduled for November, With veteran Astronaut Fred Haise as his pilot, Teng came in for a simulated landing from 100,000 feet. As the short of the composed of the control of the cockpit window while Haise pointed out the sights, which were projected on a TV screen: the earth's curvature, the Pacific coast, the lights of Las Vegas and, finally, Edwards Air Force Base in California. During a second landing, Teng had the job of pushing a button at 200 ft. to lower the landing gear. As the runway came into view, he beamed and raised both hands in wonder. Teng eagerly agreed to a third flight but reluctantly canceled it when told that he was running be-

hind schedule.

That night Teng soldiered through a Texas-style barbecue at a restaurant outside Houston. He ate highly spiced beef, with earl arease held beer posterior.

side Houston. He ate highly spiced beef, ribs and sausages, baked beans, potato salad and several fiery jalapeño peppers, all washed down with draft beer. Then, accompanied by Wife Cho Lin, who wore a

Statement Russia

He's got a real firm handshake.

ten-gallon hat, he walked across a muddy parking lot on a red carpet sprinkled with sawdust and into an arena for his first western rodeo.

As he entered the building, a country band struck up the tune Cotine-Eyed Joe, and the crowd of 1,500 people, mostly well-to-do Texans who had paid \$50 each for their bleacher seats, began clapping rhythmically and yelling "whoopee" and "ah hai." When Teng put on a ten-gallon hat, the crowd howled with delight. He are the control of t

horses around barrels and cowboys rope calves and ride bucking broncos and bulls.

The following morning Teng was all business again. At breakfast with 50 editors and publishers, he expressed the hope that China eventually will rival in, oil exports the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. To develop its vast oil reserves, China will rist need U.S. drilling equipment and technology. Teng good to the control of the countries of the cou

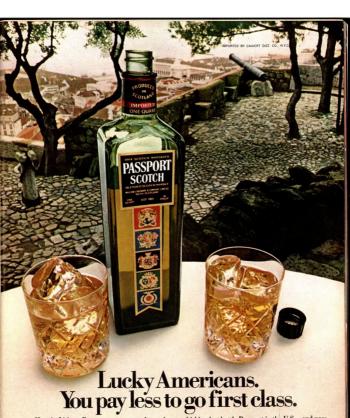
After flying Saturday after-noon to Seattle, Teng spent the night at the Washington Plaza Hotel. The next morning, Teng's party was to board a 90-ft. hydrofoil for a high-speed tour of Seattle's port. Among the sights: a grain elevator and loading dock that the Chinese specifically asked to see, a container loading dock and the Lockheed shipyard. In the afternoon. Teng was to visit the Boeing plant in Everett 30 miles north of Seattle. There, on the floor of the world's most spacious building (200 million cu. ft.), are eleven Boeing 747s in various stages of construction. After dinner with executives of five firms that do business with China (Dungeness crabs, oysters, and at Teng's request filet mignon) and a night's rest, Teng and his party would board their 707 for the return to the Middle Kingdom

Behind him, Teng left a state of near euphoria among many political and business leaders, excited about the "parallel interests" of China and the U.S. that his triumphant tour seemed to have illuminated. But some Sinologists, including Harvard's John Fairbanks, dean of U.S. China watchesphoria might prove dangerous. They fear that when Americans recognite in eight prove dangerous. They fear that when Americans encounter the inevitable difficul-

ties of dealing and trading with what is still an authoritarian regime, their exuberance could soon change to distillasionment. More fundamentally, top diplomats feel that Americans should remember the fact that Washington's most critical relationship in world politics is not with essentially backward and povertyridden China but with the powerful and

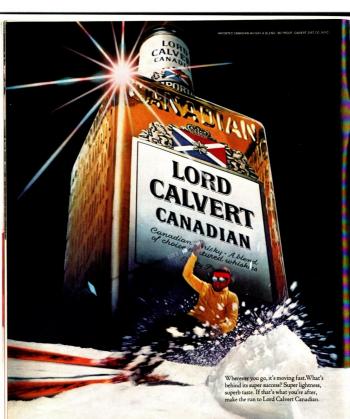
menacing Soviet Union.
For the moment, American officials were pleasantly impressed by how smoothly Teng's visit had gone, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in his reserved way, seemed to share the mood of jubilation. Said he:

"The honeymoon will continue." It was a beguiling prediction, for Teng is a beguiling man, but such prospects should not cause Americans to lose sight of their basic interests.



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The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

It's Best to Be the Visitor

It was fun having Teng Hsiao-ping around town, a truncated Vice Premier with a jack-o'lantern face, who sees polar bears over his shoulder. The feeling was marvelous. The talk was good. The food was medicare. The wine was awful, Since so much o' what happens to all the rest of it is hinges on how these top fellows get along, and since they made a so that they are the choice of the control of t

It is a shame that protocol dictated that Teng come to the United States bere Jimmy Carter went to Peking. Summit meetings are more meaningful for a U.S. President, is for the other man's country. Even after 200 years of organized history, U.S. Presidents, who often come out of the fields or the Rotary halls, tend to be more guileless than their counterparts, who frequently are professional rulers. Also, the U.S. has so much more of almost everything than the country of any visitor that it is difficult for a President to assess the promises being made and to understand the motivations of his visitors.

Even the short drive from the Peking airport to his guest quarters had a pro-



Carter's next summit partner

found impact on Richard Nixon in 1972. There were only a few planes at the airport. Hardly any other cars were on the highways. Masses of bicycles flowed down the city streets. Apartments and houses were gray, monotonous, wretched. The people reacted like automatons. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger teaches that the best of negotiators can call up from the backs of their minds specific street scenes to ground their deliberations in reality. Nothing has gone wrong so far in Carter's China overtures, but being a trusting man, the President does tend to let hope overwhelm fact now and then. Had he seen Peking, Carter might now be a little more restrained, better able to be sure about how far China has to go, how difficult that journey may be.

The fact that he has never been in Moscow to parley in the Kremlin with Leonid Brezhnev and the Politburo will be even more of a handicap to Carter when the Soviet chief makes what is almost sure to be a SALT-signing visit in Washington this spring. The Soviet summit is "big casino," in the words of one American. Carter will be dealing with a superpower, not a nation

with potential

of poverty that happens to reek with potential

Force—even brutality—is palpable in one of those Kremlin receptions, where the ranks of red-faced, berbbond generals and admirals step up unsmiling to the tables of food and volka, casting cold eyes over all assembled, including their associates. Even in discussions of the weather, ideological inflictability emerges, spawned by that Soviet sense of inferiority that suggests they are good to prove they are right, come what may. There are those who still insist that one reason for the success of the 197, blaceow as mither a billion of the success of the 197, blaceow as mither a billion of the success of the 197 blaceow as mither a billion of the success of the 197 blaceow as mither as the success for the west to Kussia.

The Soviets have helped Carter out with this handicap of his. They lied to him about their involvement in Africa. Andrei Gromyok's eyebull-ro-yebull prevarication on that occasion is perhaps the greatest breach of diplomatic trust yet experienced by Carter. He believes the Chinese have never lied to him. Beyond that, when the President discussed the world with Teng, both men when the threatent discussed the world with Teng, both men when the best of the best of the second that the second t

That will help cool any White House session with the Soviets. But the sconer Carter returns the expected Brezhnev visit and gets himself to the Kremlin, the better off we all will be. Carter may have an inkling about that. When he greeted Teng on the South Lawn of the White House last week, he dragged out that old Chinese proyers "Seeing once is worth more than 100 descriptions."



Former AID Administrator John Gilligan

Kicked Out

AID Chief Gilligan goes

45% aybe he talked too loud." That was Mone explanation in Washington for the sudden resignation last week of John Gilligan as the administrator of the Agency for International Development. A former Congressman and Governor of Ohio from 1970 to 1974, Gilligan clashed with top Administration officials over the policies of the bureauth of the Congress of the bureauth of the Congress of the Superior Congression of the Superior Congression and the Superior Congression and Parket the resignation may have been forced by his boss. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Gilligan became controversial almost from the day he arrived at AID two years ago. After surveying his staff, he bluntly declared that too many of them were "overage, overgrade and over here." His last complaint reflected his conviction that foreign aid administrators should be based in the countries being served.

While Gilligan's sweeping managerial style won some praise in Congress, it undermined morale at AID. When he asked subordinates to anonymously grade his performance last year, 80% rated him 'unsatisfactory." He antagonized the Departments of State, Treasury and Agriculture by stubbornly advocating that some of their foreign assistance activities be handed over, along with the Peace Corps, to a new superagency that he presumably would head. Nor could Vance have appreciated Gilligan's criticisms of the \$2 billion in economic aid the U.S. now gives Israel and Egypt, 25.6% of the entire economic foreign assistance program.

Gilligan was never personally close to Carter, and his tenure has been in doubt for some time. His own response to such talk: "I'm not leaving until the guy kicks me out." That apparently is what Cyrus Vance did last week.

Nation



Kentucky's Shrewd Ladv

When Gov's away, she can play

I nothing else, Thelma Stovall has found a novel way to make the Governor of Kentucky stick to his old Kentucky home. If he wanders too far or tarries too long bevond the state's borders, he had better look back and ask, "What's Thelma up

Stovall, 59, a modest but tough Democratic politician, struck first in 1959. She was secretary of state then, the thirdranking office in Kentucky, and she found one day that both Governor Happy Chandler and his Lieutenant Governor were away. By law, that made her the boss. So she pardoned three prisoners, including a holdup man sentenced to up to life for stealing \$28

Still holding elective office 19 years later. Thelma pounced again last March. after she had moved up to Lieutenant Governor. When the current Governor, Democrat Julian Carroll, left the state briefly. Stovall exercised her temporary veto authority to kill the Kentucky legislature's attempt to rescind its earlier ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The veto stuck

But last November, Thelma outdid herself. She had watched restlessly as Governor Carroll, a Presbyterian lay preacher and political gadfly, proved so prone to travel that he became known as "the Flying Deacon." She also felt he had failed to provide solid leadership on tax cuts over Kentucky's ineffective legislature, which meets only 60 days every two years. When the legislature left Frankfort without doing anything to soothe the state's increasingly irate taxpayers. Thelma started watching the Governor's schedule. Aha, she spotted a trip. She polished her plans.

Carroll was off blithely chairing a Georgia training session for new Governors when Stovall seized the executive reins to call a special session of the legislature. It would, she decreed, face up to the state's tax burden. Moreover, she had a program of her own: end the state taxes on water and heating fuel for residences; lower the state income tax; freeze almost all property taxes; reduce the escalating fines for traffic tickets.

Outraged, Governor Carroll returned after two days' absence to fight Stovall's use of his own powers. When the legislators assembled last month, the Governor ignored the special session and fought any tax reduction on the grounds that the state could not afford it. But after the legislators grilled Carroll's financial aides and decided that taxes were indeed too high and could be cut, he surrendered to Thelma's coup. Last week he addressed a joint session of the legislature and endorsed much of the tax-cutting program. Some form of tax relief is expected to win final approval this week.

A popular tax cut was not the only thing on Thelma's mind. As she well knew, her desire to shake things up while the boss is away had made her a political heroine. She is now one of the favorites in this year's race to succeed Carroll, who is ineligible to succeed himself. If she survives the May primary and wins in November, one thing is likely: Thelma Stovall will be a woman Governor who knows that her place is in the mansion.

Up in Arms

Protests over a weapons show

he annual meeting of the Hyatt Corp. The annual meeting of the 11,444 carry is generally an accommodating affair. Last week, however, the company's gathering in Chicago became the target of protesters who are up in arms over a conference scheduled later this month in the O'Hare International Trade and Exhibition Center and the Hyatt Hotel near Chicago's O'Hare International Airport.

Defense Technology '79," the conference calls itself. An "arms bazaar," its foes charge. Whichever, it will bring together on Feb. 18-21 arms manufacturers. potential buyers and military strategy experts from the U.S. and foreign countries. including the Soviet Union, Egypt and South Korea. Nearly 60 exhibitors, among them such U.S. defense manufacturers as Beech Aircraft and Boeing Aerospace, have signed up. Simultaneously, in the Hyatt Hotel, former intelligence officials of the U.S. and Britain and military strategy specialists from business



Marjorie Benton outside Hyatt Hotel "This is not a dog show, not a boat show,

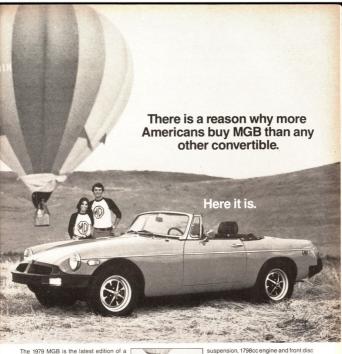
and academia will stage a "Conference on Strategic Directions." The conference. says Chief Sponsor Gregory Copley, editor of Britain's Defense and Foreign Affairs Publications, will offer strategy experts the opportunity to discuss the latest global and military developments "in a frank and private exchange of ideas. No one is going to drive up in a tank

Opponents of the conference wonder. Complained Chicago Socialite and Democratic Party Activist Marjorie Benton, a U.S. delegate to last year's U.N. special session on disarmament: "This is not a dog show, not a boat show. It's a military hardware show where they'll be selling everything from thumbscrews to missiles." At the Hyatt stockholders' meeting last week. Benton delivered an impassioned eight-minute lecture on corporate morality. Senator Charles Percy and Representative Abner J. Mikva have asked the sponsors to cancel the exhibition

Letter writers have protested to Hyatt and Illinois' Rosemont Village, which owns the Exposition Center. The group, "Mobilization for Survival," composed of antinuclear, environmentalist and peace activists, has threatened a demonstration if the exhibition takes place. One of the prospective protesters is Actor and Disarmament Delegate Paul Newman.

Such protests have given Hyatt second thoughts about allowing the conference, but cancellation could bring a sixfigure damage suit by the sponsor

Copley, meanwhile, is standing firm, perhaps remembering the annoyance he suffered when a similar gathering he had planned in Miami last year was canceled. Said he: "This is a conference for professionals, and we don't intend to see it disrupted by emotional amateurs.



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Nation

The Cuban Coffee Caper

How Castro paid \$8.7 million and got not a single cupful

As Cuba's ruler for the past 20 years, Fidel Castro obviously wasn't born yesterday. He has triumphed over attempted invasions, coups and assassinations. He has felt confident enough to send troops to Africa to stir up trouble. Yet he has now been taken, in a huge swindle brought in 6f by a group of men.

brought off by a group of men accused of selling Cuba a cargo of nonexistent coffee. The ruse, involving transactions from Canada to the Caribbean, ultimately collapsed, but not before Cuba was relieved of about \$8.7 million—perhaps the worst sting the Cuban dictator has ever suffered.

The Cuban government, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the FBI, and the U.S. Justice Department's Strike Force are all involved in the attempt to untangle the swindle. Au-

thorities have arrested one man, a West German commodities broker named Karl Fessler, charged three more, and are seeking others.

In an attempt to support Castro's faltering economy, the Soviet Union has been buying much of the coffee Cuba grows at a price higher er than on the world market. In fact, Cuba has even been accused in some anti-Castro quarters of mixing imported coffee with been compared to the sound that is the sound to the sound that is the sound to the s

Knowing the Cubans' need for coffee, Karl Fessler, a jet-hopping high roller, is said to have made them an attractive offer in late 1977. According to the Cuban government, Fessler told its trade representatives that he would sell them 3,000 metric tons of "Barahona," a

3,000 metric tons of "Barahona," a choice Arabic blend grown in the Dominican Republic, at a bargain price. Report-duly, Fessler and some cohorts produced all the documents attesting to the availability of the coffee, and the deal was cliniched last October on the Caribbean is almod of St. Martin. The Cubans agreed to a price of \$1.39 a lb, vz. \$1.34 on the company of the compan

Except that not a single coffee bean existed. Companies were set up in the Caribbean and an aging freighter of Panamanian registry was bought for \$700,000. The culprits proceeded to pay off anybody who might hinder the swindle. The Justice Department estimates that hundreds of thousands of dollars were paid out.

The ship without the coffee was launched near Santo Domingo last November. The plan was to sink it en route to Havana. The gang expected to collect twice: once from the duped Cubans, a second time from the company that insured the ship. When the freighter was at sea.

Fessler and a confederate are said to have marched into the Bank of Nova Scotia in Toron-



ment, Fessler told its trade representatives that he would sell them

Trouble with a crew that refused to sink its own ship.

to. All sorts of papers were shown verifying that the coffee was on its way: a telex from the ship's captain, complete invoices, bills of lading, inspection receipts. Following the instructions of Cuba's brokers, the bank promptly disbursed the \$8.7 million as Fessler directed.

Then came a hitch. Someone had apparently neglected to brite a port official in Santo Domingo, he retailated by refusing to let the crew that had been hired to scuttle the ship board the vessel. So the freighter had put to sea with its original crew, who were unaware of the plot. En route, they evidently realized that something the state of the plot. The state of the plot of

plaining that the freighter had been delayed at sea because of mechanical problems. Finally, the brokers involved in the deal decided to check. They flew to Costa Rica and found the freighter empty.

By then the swindlers were long gone. Fessler showed up in Miani, where he went on a spending spree. He bought a \$17,000 Cadilia and \$70,000 in jewelry, made a down payment on a Key Largo condominum, invested \$\$50,001 in securities, and moved into a Cornel rities, and moved into a Cornel rities of the C

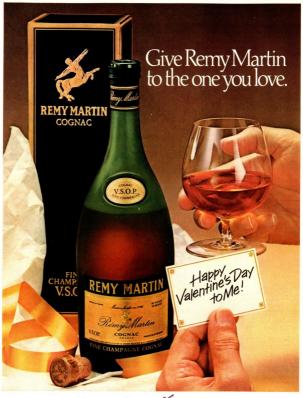
nadian authorities would press so vigorously for his extradition. FBI agents, who had been tipped off by the outraged Cuban brokers, arrested Fessler in December. On him they found \$40,000 in cash, travelers checks and around-the-world air tickets. Fessler is the only one of the gang who has been arrested. He was charged with fraud. The others remain at large. So does most of the money. Last week FBI agents and Canadian Mounties islandhopped around the Caribbean looking for the funds, which were laundered in a series of bank-account transfers. "They did everything to make it vanish," says Martin Raskin, an attorney for the Justice Department Strike Force.

E ven if the money is found, Castro may not get it. In an extraordinary action, Cuba's Banco Nacional fided a suit in Dade County Circuit Court against Fessler for treturn of the money, But by doing so Cuba has made itself vulnerable to lawsuits from property owners whose assets were seared when Castro took power. In addition, the grounds that the Americans involved in the scheme violated the Trading with the Emeny Act.

If the Cubans do not get their money, they are determined to get Fessler. Currently jailed in Dade County without bail, he intends to fight extradition to Canada. His attorney, Samuel Bare, who calls his client "strictly a broker, a dupe in the whole thing," fears that if Fessler is extradited to Canada, he might somehow wind up in Cuba. In that case, says Bare, "he would be looking at a firing squad." Even so, the Justice Department dropped the fraud charges against Fessler in January, to clear the way for extradition hearings this month. Meanwhile, Castro's agents, who have no great respect for due process, are said to be on the prowl for him and the others. Says a source close to the investigation in Miami: "Everyone in this thing is in jeopardy of his life." That is a high price to pay, even for coffee.



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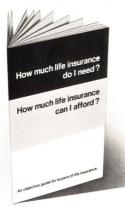
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Nation

A Battle over Cancer Care

Should state or parents decide?

• na Pacific beach near Tijuana. Mexcico. Chad Green. a frail but lively three-year-old American boy, was happily digging into the sand last week and laughing at squirrels scampering near by, quite unaware that he is the subject of a dramatic medical and legal conand an argament is raging over who has the right to decide how he should be treated: his parents, Gerald and Diana Green, or state officials in Masschusetts responding to the advice of

A blond child with a winning smile. Chad began chemotherapy at the University of Nebraska Medical Center in his home town of Omaha when he was 21 months old. Doctors there claimed that he was improving rapidly under their care and that the leukemia was in remission. But when they suggested radiation treatment for further protection, officen, who is a welder, and his wife moved to Massachusetts and placed Chad ceilist in podature hematology at Massachusetts General Hospital. Truman continued the chemotherapy.

The Greens, however, had found that the chemotherapy was a painful ordeal for Chad. The injections turned him at times into "a wild animal," his mother declared. Truman then gave her the chemicals in the form of pills, to be taken at home. When leukemia was again found in Chad's blood early in 1978. Mrs. Green reluctantly admitted that she had not been giving Chad his pills. "Chemotherapy doesn't cure," said Diana Green in desperation. Instead, the parents had been giving the boy Laetrile, a drug which is illegal for use in cancer treatment in Massachusetts, and which repeated medical studies have found useless for that purpose

When the Greens refused to resume chemotherapy, despite warnings from Truman that Chad would die without it, a legal battle began. Chad was declared a ward of the state for medical purposes only. The partents retained customer is a state expense. Chad is health improved, when the Greens asked the state courts for permission to give their son Laterlia as well, it was denned. Last month the Greens fleed to Tijuana with Chad, placing him in a clinic headed by Dr. Erfor its psychological benefits, rather than as a cure for cancel as

Chad last week was taking Laetrile, together with vitamins and health foods, as well as his chemotherapy pills. Mas-



Chad and his mother in Massachusetts

Seeking free choice in Mexico.

sachusetts doctors warned, however, that Laetrile was incompatible with regular chemotherapy and had, in fact, caused signs of cyanide poisoning in Chad's body. After considering a possible kidnaping charge against the Greens. Massachusetts Attorney General Francis X. Bellott instead sought a court order demanding

that the Greens return Chad to Massachusetts for treatment. Judge Guy Volterra granted the order. Last week he held the parents in contempt of court for disobeying it, but gave them another week to comply before assessing any penalty.

This legal pressure is not expected to have much impact on the Greens. They were getting financial support from the National Health Federation, a rightwing California organization that also opposes fluoridation of water, and from private citizens who contend that the state has no business telling parents how to care for their children. With these contributions, the Greens hope to get by while they are in Mexico. "There is such a loving atmosphere here at the clinic, says Gerald Green. "The doctor, after giving us the test results, tells us, 'We'll be praying with you.' You just don't find that in the U.S.'

Obviously the motives of both the parents and the state of Massachusetts are the same: they want Chad to survive. But the essential question for Chad Green is what kind of treatment he finally gets—and how long it keeps him alive.

It Was Monday

The explanation was incredibly casual." I don't like Mendays. Brenda Spencer, 16, told reporters by telephone as she held off San Diego police for six hours. But who was she trying to kill as she repeatedly fired a .22-cal. rifle at Cleveland Elementary School from her home across the street? "No one in particular. I kind of like the red and blue jackets."

While Brenda chatted on the telephone, the terrified pupils and teachers huddled on the floor of the bulletsprayed school. Principal Burton Wragg and Custodian Michael Suchar were both slain by the gunfire at the school's front yard. Eight children and one police officer were wounded. After hours of futile attempts to get Brenda to surrender, she finally decided it was time to end what she had called "fun." She calmly walked out of the house, put her gun on the ground, went back inside and returned to hand rushing officers some 150 rounds of ammunition.

Next day teachers at the school encouraged their students to talk about the tragedy as a way to relieve their tensions over the traumatic event. "Why did she do it?" asked an eight-year-old boy. Unfortunately, no one in authority could answer that question.



Dad hugs son who eluded bullets from Brenda (inset)

Nation

Patty Is Free And Older

Carter commutes her sentence

When all legal efforts failed to overturn the conviction of Patty Hearst for armed robbery, her lawyers and friends mounted a campaign to persuade President Carter to commute her sentence. They argued that Patty had suffered enough and indeed had been treated with special severity by the law because

her family. Thousands of calls and letters poured into the White House urging her release Carter and the Department of Justice agreed with those pleas, and last week

after a presidential commutation, Patty Hearst was freed from a California prison, five months before she was eligible for parole. She had served 22 months and 17 days of her seven-year sentence for her part in the Symbionese Liberation Army

bank robbery in April 1974.

Noted the Justice Department in its recommendation for clemency: "It is the consensus of all those most familiar with this case that but for the extraordinary criminal and personal offenses that the petitioner suffered at the hands of the S.L.A. she would not have become a participant in the criminal acts . . . and would have not suffered the punishment and other consequences she has endured." That raised the question of whether she should have been brought to trial in the first

But for Patty Hearst, the commutation was the chance to start again. "This is what we all wanted," she said, waving her release papers before being driven to her family's posh home in the San Francisco suburbs for a catered champagne breakfast with her now legally separated parents, her four sisters and a crying and cheering group of friends

"I've gotten a lot stronger and a lot more self-confident," Patty said as she chatted easily with the hundreds of reporters gathered at the house. "I take a lot of things in stride that make other people fall apart, and I think mostly that I've learned a lot about people. I was 19 years old when I was kidnaped and I'll be 25 in a couple of weeks."

She seemed to have learned even to joke about her ordeal. She opened a bulky ski parka to show a T shirt bearing the words PARDON ME. She pointed to a large round pendant hung around her neck with the inscription SURVIVOR, 2-4-74, the date she was dragged screaming from her apartment by the S.L.A. "Now I'll get the other date on at the bottom," she vowed "Today's date.

Some time in April, Patty plans to



Patty celebrates her release "I've gotten a lot stronger.

marry San Francisco Policeman Bernard Shaw, 33, her bodyguard while she was free on bond pending her appeals, but she has not decided whether to take his name. "I don't anticipate anyone calling me Patty Shaw," she said. Asked where she could go to escape being Patty Hearst, she replied with a tough edge to her voice: "I don't see anything wrong with being Patty Hearst

Rocky Recalled

A eulogy and some questions

y friend, my older brother, my in-spiration and my guide." So former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger described his feelings about Nelson Rockefeller in an eloquent, emotional eulogy at the funeral service in Manhattan's Riverside Church last week. While President Carter, former President Ford, Vice President Mondale, Chief Justice Burger and many other public figures listened from the nave, Kissinger paid tribute to the man who "permeated our lives.

In a voice that often quavered. Kissinger declared: "That Nelson Rockefeller is dead is both shattering and nearly inconceivable. One thought him indestructible ... When the phone call came last Friday, it seemed that our relationship had just started. And now it was already ended." Rockefeller, continued Kissinger, was "full of the moment and yet always somehow marked by destiny. He often seemed remote because he was already living in the future, which most of us had not yet understood ... His failure to reach the presidency was in my view a tragedy for the country, yet I never heard him express even one word of disappointment.

This heartfelt homage concluded a week in which the circumstances of Rockefeller's collapse had provoked some unusual speculation. In discussing the matter with reporters shortly after Rockefeller's death on the night of Jan. 26, his longtime press secretary Hugh Morrow said that only a security aide was present when Rockefeller was stricken at 10:15 p.m. while working on an art book at his office in Rockefeller Center. The phone call that summoned police, said Morrow, had been placed by an "unidentified woman neighbor." It soon turned out that Morrow had his facts wrong.

Rockefeller did not die in his office but in his mid-Manhattan town house, at 13 West 54th Street. The phone call was made at 11:16, not at 10:15. And the caller was not an unknown woman but a quite familiar one to Rockefeller and his associates: Megan Marshack, 26, a research assistant who had been helping Rocky with various publishing

just down the street in an apartment building at 25 West 54th Street. Before joining Rocky's staff in 1976, Marshack had worked for Associated Press Radio in Washington for six months. Her former boss at A.P. Radio, Bill McCloskey, recalled her as an "aggressive news gatherer who Megan Marshack came over classy. She was bright and ambitious, but not in the



negative sense The contradictory statements about when the call was made to police raised the question of whether an hour had elapsed between the time that Rockefeller died and the time of the call. To judge from Marshack's somewhat hysterical conversation, which was taped by the police. Rocky's seizure had just occurred. That also was the verdict of the medical examiner. Morrow, who was not present, issued a series of corrections to his previous accounts, then declined further comment. Marshack went into

Another misconception had been caused by Rocky himself. He was not as healthy as people thought. In fact, he was being treated for heart disease brought on by hardening of the arteries, but he had not wanted to tell his family.



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Americana

Losing Your Head Shop

Neighborhood paraphernalia dealers blossomed as fast as the drug culture, flowering on corners across the nation with a wide assortment of cigarette rolling papers, small pipes, cocaine spoons, psychedelic lights and other legal appurtenances for high living. But for many officials, the head shops serve as a too-blatant reminder of the losing battle against drugs.

er of the losing stutte againshops and seek of the control of the

The head shops are banding together in mutual protection, as would members of any other \$3 billion-a-year business. Says Chris Colbert, director of the



Paraphernalia Trade Association, with headquarters in Philadelphia: "Ver en ing pipes in the basement. We're normal businessmen with shirts and ties." The association bried a lawyer to fight Westfield's action and won a preliminary injunction against enforcing the new ordinance. Whatever the outcome, the bottom of the control of the property of the

Catch-21

Kenneth Uston resigned as a \$42,500a-year senior vice president of the Pacific Stock Exchange four years ago to become a professional blackjack player. He is good. Too good for the casinos to handle. Uston is known as a "counter," because he can keep track of the cards so well that he can determine if those remaining will tip the odds in his favor.

Last week the Resorts International casino in Atlantic City followed the precedent of Las Vegas gaming houses and



decided to deal Uston, and at least ten other known counters, out of the game. The easinn had cause for alarm: Uston was winning at the rate of \$700 an hour was winning at the rate of \$700 an hour had been as the second of the harmonia of

Small Potatoes

For House Speaker Tip O'Neill's ancestors in Ireland, potatoes were a dietary staple, the only means of survival. The potate blight struck, and they migrated to America. So the side dish that O'Neill discovered at the fashionable Prime Rib restaurant in Washington boiled his ancesral blood: fred potato peels at \$2.50 a portion. "Two-fifty." he exclaimed. "And there's no potato."

Weighty Issue

Barbara and Gordon Ray, of Madison, Wis, want to adopt a child. They thought this would not be too difficult. Their doctors had told them it was very unlikely they could have a child of their to the state Health and Social Services Department. Mrs. Ray, who is 5 ft. 9 in. and weighed 210 lbs. was told she had to lose weight. Her obesity was a health probamined her Mrs. Ray, as hipping and mail clerk at the University of Wisconsin who is 6 ft. 2 in. and weighs 220 lbs., also had

to lose weight, the state social worker said. So Mrs. Ray went on a diet, and lost

20 lbs. in three months. That was still not enough, the department said, and suggested she take off an additional 20 lbs. Intrinated. the Rays made their problem public. State Senator Peter Bear openly critizered the department's ruling, and the state legislature decided to investigate. Finally, Social Services officials relented and suspended the informal guidelines on obesity.

obesity.

The Rays still have to see if they meet other requirements to be adoptive parents, but they are proud of their victory over bureaucratic rules they consider unfeeling and discriminatory. "I'm happy we could do some good for other so-called fat people." says Gordon, who never lost a pound.

Live Free or Don't

License-plate slogans tend to be innocused boats of a state's famous product: corn, copper, sunshine, lakes. Lincoln, enchantent. From 1969 on, New Hampshire car owners had a more force or the most of the state of the state of the some of them to distraction. Motorist George Maynard, feeling the slogan confined him to the right lane, went all the way to the Supress of the state of the way to the Supress of the state of the way to the Supress of the state of the growth of the state of the state of the growth of the state of the state of the growth of the state of the state of the court ruled in his favor.

Then Governor Meldrim Thomson responded to the Supreme Court ruling by ordering the LIVE FREE OR DIE battle cry imprinted on all Official stationers and on all highways leading into the state. But Iromson was beaten in the November election, and the state's newly installed Governor. Hugh Gallen, has decided to give the patriotic slogan a resi, initially with a state of the state



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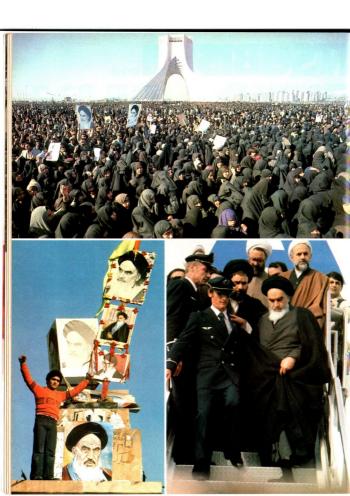
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COVER STORY

The Khomeini Era Begins

There is hope for peaceful change as the Ayatullah returns from exile

he chartered Air France 747 circled over the city and past the nearby Elburz Mountains three times before settling down gently on the tarmac of Tehran's Mehrabad Airport. As aides and reporters milled about. the frail old man, wearing a black turban and ankle-length robes, stepped out of the aircraft's door into the chill February morning. His back hunched, he clutched the arm of an Air France purser as he walked down the portable ramp to touch Iranian soil. After 15 years in exile. Avatullah Ruhollah Khomeini. 78. spiritual leader of a revolution that has been building to a frightening climax. had come home at last. The moment was, conceivably, the start of a new era for a country that has seemed danger-

After all the demonstrations of anger and mourning that have punctuated the year-long crisis. Iran went wild with iov. From all across the country, millions of people thronged into the capital: they lined the 20-mile route out to Behesht-Zahra Cemetery, where many of the martyrs of the revolution are buried, to catch a glimpse of the Avatullah. "The holy one has come!" they shouted triumphantly. "He is the light of our lives!" So heavy was the crush of people that Khomeini had to be lifted from his motorcade and flown the last mile to the cemetery by helicopter. There, in Lot 17, he prayed and delivered a 30-minute funeral oration for the dead. "Is it human rights." he asked in a bitter if oblique reference to President Carter. "when we say we want to name a government and we get a cemetery full of people?" Then a boys' chorus sang: "May every drop of their blood turn to tulips and grow forever. Arise! Arise! Arise!

From his bungalow at Neauphtle-Chateau outside Parts the Ayatullah had been sending home a steady stream of Edundeis, messages summoning the faithful to bring down the monarchy in favor of what he has somewhat vaguely braid to develop the standard propulsie. Much of the population heeded Khomeini. It was popular uprisings in his name that forced the hatter of the host of the population of the propulation heeded with a forced the hatter of the host of the propulation of the host of

Left clockwise: Tehran crowd demanding Khomeini's return; the Ayatullah descending ramp onto Iranian soil at Tehran airport; display of welcoming portraits



Above: mob surrounding General Latifi. Left: victims of Esfand Square attack

giving little hint of compromise, Khomeini has rejected the Bakhtiar government and damned it as illegal because it

was appointed by the Shah. But now on the scene, Khomeini faces far tougher tasks than rousing the people to fury against an unpopular autocrat. set up a new revolutionary council for Iran. In so doing he risks a coup by an army whose generals, if not its soldiers, remain loyal to the Shah. He must pick up the numerous strands of opposition, united only in reverence for him and hatred of the monarch, and hold them together long enough to form a functioning government. It is a lot to expect from a spiritual leader wise in Koranic lore but woefully unskilled in Realpolitik. Perhaps aware of the huge risks involved. Khomeini after his return acted with uncharacteristic caution. Bakhtiar, for his part. kept the door open for negotiations with the Ayatullah, thereby raising hopes that a peaceful transition of power in Iran might still be possible.

The on-again, off-again preparations for Khomeini's return began to take definitive shape early last week. Prime Minister Bakhtiar reopened Iran's airports, which had been closed solely to prevent the Ayatullah from coming back. Kho-

mein's representatives in Paris hurriedly chartered a jumbo jet from Air France, settled insurance terms and agreed that the plane would by only half full. Thus if it were not allowed to land in Tehran, there would still be enough fuel aboard for a return flight to Paris Because of Pears of subolage, no Iranian women or children and the plane of the plan

During evening prayers on the day of the flight, Khomeini sought to comfort followers who were unable to accompany him because of the shortage of seats. "The important thing is not that you be at my side on the plane but that you continue the struggle with me," he told them. Before departing, he thanked the French government for its hospitality and the French popels "who have followed with interest the struggle for freedom of conscience and the way of democracy desired by all clear-minded Iranians." Annoyed by the Asytullah's rejection of their pleas by the Asytullah's rejection of their pleas olution in Iran. officials in Faris were quite happy to see him go. Would Khomeini be welcomed back if he had to go into well again? Said one ranking diplomat dryly: "We certainly wouldn't object if he titual erseence all timore continuity."

mong the 150 members of the international press aboard Khomeini, flight was TIME Correspondent Bruce van Voorst. "Shortly after takeoff, the Ayatullah climbed the spirial staircase to the jumbo jet's lounge section,

removed his turban and sandals, curled up on several Air France blankets and slept for 21/2 hours," reported van Voorst. "His personal security guard, suffering from a toothache and numb from aspirins, sat at the bottom of the steps. At sunrise, somewhere over Turkey, the Ayatullah said prayers, then was served an omelet for breakfast. When the captain announced that the plane had flown into Iranian airspace and would land in Tehran in half an hour, the Ayatullah craned his neck to look down on the magnificent spectacle of the snow-covered Zagros Mountains. 'The Ayatullah,' murmured one of his senior aides. 'is back in his country.

Inside the terminal, the Ayatullah was instantly surrounded by 1,000 or so members of a welcoming committee shouting, "Allahu akbar!" (God is great). Praising all those who had suffered for the revolu-

"They Are Trying to Kill"

As Ayatallah Khomeini prepared to fly home, the army and the people of fram appared to be on a collision course. For the third time in four days, crowds of Khomeini's supporters taunted the solders. The troops answered words with bullets, opening fire in emotional outbursts, then sniping with a cold-blooded capricousses. TIME Correspondent William Mc-Whitere, who witnessed a bloody confrontation at 24 Edjand Square in central Tehran, reports on the grim consequences:

After four hours of shooting, the city had turned into a festival of pain. Street marshals of the revolutionary movement stopped cars to beg for blood donations. Emergency vehicles careered through the streets with horns blaring. Every

Surgeon working on casualty at a Tehran hospital

pharmacy in town was searched for cotton wool and bandages. People by the thousands answered the call for supplies and rushed to the hospital with clean sheets, blankets and blood. Requests for antiseptics seemed to reach Tehranis faster than one of Prime Minister Bakhtuir's broadcasts.

inside that one of Frime Minister Baskhilar's proadcasts.

Inside that one of Frime Minister Baskhilar's proadcasts were being taken, wolfored roders must of the causalises had all turned up for special duty as ambulance after ambulance pulled into the driveway of the emergency entrance. Stretchers were set up in rows outside, as if at an emergency medical center in a battle zone, while volunteers with megaphones should instructions to the drivers. The casumes of the control of the

Almost all of their wounds were in the stomech, ches, neck or head. One doctor, his white apron covered with blood, looked shocked as he probed them. "They are trying to kill these people," he said. Filteen of those who had been wheeled into Pahlavi would die after surgery. One was a young, muscular soldier whose uniform, even in death, was under a lot-greated by. There was a young muscular soldier whose uniform, even in death, was ill smartly presed. Outraged by the massacre, he had wounded his commanding officer and had in turn been fatally shot by his own comrades.

Dr. Ali Muhammad, 95. a surgeon, spent part of his ime operating, part on the telephone attempting to reach his good friend Shahpour Bakhtiar in an effort to halt the shooting, Muhammad was furious at the extent and kinds of injuries he had been treating. "If they do not stop this," he predicted, "everyone will be Communist. We have been fighting the Communists for 20 years. Now all of us in my They must deal with us."

Muhammad finally got through to one of Bakhtiars' aides. Cassulties were still rolling through the emergency-room door as he banged down the telephone. "They said only that these people were trying to take army headquar-ters. With what? Their bare hands". He sighed as he selected a scaled and went back to work. They are pushing clered a scaled and went back to work. They are pushing offers killed or wounded by the friends of the people who died under my care today."

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tion, from the clergy to bazaar merchants to workers and students. Khomeini lashed out immediately at the Shah and his supporters, who "destroyed our culture and turned it into a colonial culture." Then came an ominous touch: "We are only victorious when we can cut the hands of the foreigners from our lands. The agents of the foreigners who are trying to cheat our interests must know that they are now part of history. All their struggles will be in vain. I pray to God for your glory and good health, and I pray to God to help us cut off the hands of the foreigners." With that the crowded terminal rang with shouts: "Allahu akbar! Allahu akbar!

In the days before and after the Ayatullah's return. Prime Minister Bakhtiar was almost compulsively busy: delivering lengthy radio and television speeches, introducing sweeping reform measures in parliament. To some extent, that burst of activity was a charade; almost daily, members of the Majlis (lower house) resigned in deference to the Ayatullah's commands. Said one European diplomat in Tehran: "Bakhtiar's performance is a pure piece of acting, but there's nothing behind it. I can't think of anything he's

in charge of.

Bakhtiar lost both face and prestige the weekend before, when he grandly announced that he would have a summit meeting with Khomeini in Paris, only to have the Ayatullah repudiate the conference. Said Khomeini: "I will not receive that illegal man." Actually, the Prime Minister was privately trying to negotiate an arrangement whereby he might resign in favor of a Khomeini-sanctioned transitional government that would preside over elections, a constituent assembly and a referendum on a new constitution. Bakhtiar said he had been negotiating with Khomeini's local representatives. but those plans may have already been jeopardized by the arrests of five leading journalists and the beginning of the army's bloody crackdown.

ven more damaging to Bakhtiar's credibility was his open support of the military, which has tried to inthe military, which has timidate Khomeini's supporters by firing randomly at throngs of unarmed civilian demonstrators. On the "Bloody Sunday" of Jan. 28, the army fired directly into demonstrators gathered around 24 Esfand Square, near the university, and sniped at them from nearby rooftops for nearly four hours. By the end of the afternoon, there were 30 known dead and hundreds wounded; hospitals were jammed with the dying (see box). Bakhtiar defended the slaughter, which followed a similar assault two days earlier, as a retaliation by the army for an attack on police headquarters by civilians armed with machine guns. But in fact no eyewitness had seen the police building being assaulted

Iran's military was itself riddled with dissension. Some Shah loyalists among the top commanders undoubtedly favored a

The Avatullah's Hit Parade

C assette tape recordings made by Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, which for years circulated clandestinely inside Iran, have become as vital as a daily newspaper for people who want to hear the very words of his policy statements. In Tehran as well as in villages throughout the country, the cassettes can be bought at small bazaar shops and from vendors on the streets yelling "Khomeini tapes here!" The Ayatullah's recordings have become one of the few getrich-quick ventures in Iran's shuttered economy. The tapes were mostly manufactured on recording machines in France and surreptitiously shipped to Iran. Costing only about 20¢ each to make, they are sold on the streets for about \$1.25. A distributor with the latest tape can make a neat profit of \$50 a day. Excerpts from the Avatullah's hit recordings:

If the religious leaders had been in power, they would not have allowed the Iranian nation to become the captive of the Americans and the British.

They would not have allowed the Iranian economy to be degraded and foreign goods to be imported without customs duties They would

not have allowed the parliament to be degraded to its present state They would not have allowed boys and girls to embarrass one anoth-

er and call it dancing They would not have allowed males and females to go to school together ... They would not have allowed innocent girls to be placed under the hands of men teachers in schools ... They would have

punched the government in the mouth ... vented the American

They would have pre- Copying Khomeini's tapes at headquarters in France

experts from taking advantage of us.

I am sorry to see that after striving for so many years differences have appeared among you. In all these years, I have managed to bring the mullahs and the bazaar shopkeepers closer to the university community. They must have unity in their ideals for them to succeed. Otherwise the foreigners will take advantage of them. When the foreigners see that in Iran people are becoming united, the interest of the Soviet Union and America will not be able to survive. If you believe in the campaign, you must be united. Otherwise you will be separated from your goal and that will benefit Carter. All of you must go under the flag of Islam, for without it we are nothing.

The people of Iran have reached a state where they have attracted the attention of the world. We have gained prestige in the world, from America to the Arabic countries. This is a miracle. I think it is a spiritual one. The hands of God are with you. If it wasn't the hand of God, the nation, from children to the elderly, would not have joined our campaign. Victory is near. Don't be afraid. The Prophet Muhammad spent most of his life struggling. Learn from the Prophet and be patient. He fought all his life to overcome oppression. And we have been doing it only a short time. But what are we afraid of? If we are killed we will go to heaven. And if we kill we will go to heaven. This is the logic of Islam because we are in the right.

Whom should I thank for all these problems plaguing us? ... I don't know whom to thank and whom to give my condolences, but I think I should be proud of the nation and its fight against oppressors.

coup as the only way to keep Khomeini out of power. U.S. Air Force General Robert Huyser, the deputy commander of American forces in Europe, had been sent to Tehran a month ago to act as liaison officer with the Iranian military. He has forcefully argued that an army takeover would lead only to anarchy, but U.S. diplomats are uncertain as to whether the military is really listening. One deterrent to a coup is widespread evidence that many soldiers would not follow their officers in an uprising against the revolution. Low-paid conscripts, who make up about 40% of the 340,000-man Iranian military, have stopped reporting for duty in many areas.

he most frequent incidence of mutiny involves the air force, previously regarded as the favored elite service of the Shah. Military sources have denied rumors that 165 warrant officers were executed for taking part in anti-Shah demonstrations. They do admit that some soldiers have been arrested for treason and that a state of emergency has been declared for the armed services. During a show of force by the military the day before the Avatullah's arrival, several truckloads of troops, some carrying Khomeini posters, waved sympathetically at the crowd. They burst into tears when other troops opened fire on the crowd, yelling at bystanders to get down or "the soldiers in back will shoot you." On Bloody Sunday, an ABC cameraman recorded an incident in which a soldier shot and wounded a colleague who was clubbing a youthful demonstrator with a rifle.

Many Iranians believed that the anti-Knomeini actions of the military were being directly inspired by the Shah, who last week remained in seclusion in Morocco with his family. There were rumors that he was planning a triumphant return to the throne. as he did after a CIA- inspired coup against the government of Premier Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953. Fears about the Shah's return were fueled by a curious tape recording, allegedly made by a participant at a secret meeting of the Shah and his top generals before he left the country. The 20-minute cassette, popularly dubbed "the braving of the Shah," was widely circulated in Iran, even though its authenticity was doubtful. Three independent American voice experts hired by CBS insisted that the voice on the recording was indeed the Shah's. A spokesman for the monarch. however, dismissed the tape as "typical Communist agitprop," and officials in Washington were convinced that the recording was a "cut and splice job.

The voice on the tape calls on the army commanders to forment civil war "so that we may hopefully begin again to recoup our power, being sure this time not coup our power, being sure this time not to the past missiakes." The speaker of the past missiakes. The speaker of the past missiakes. The speaker of the past missiakes to fire on the people and kill them" if necessary, to create hatred and dissension between the army and the people. The voice goes on to blame the inefficiency of SAVAK, Iran's faered secret police, for many of the current problems and vows many of the current problems and vows apparatus more extensive than SAVAK.

Meanwhile, other even more mysterious forces inside fram were stirring up trouble. Several news agencies received warnings from a group calling itself the "Commande Organization of the Wart-end of the Wart-

ground Communists, who have the most



Prime Minister Shahpour Bakhtian

to gain from chaos—were inciting violence. Gangs of street toughs burned down a beer factory, a nightclub, and numerous slum dwellings in the city's red-light district. The apparent motive was to make the revolutionary movement seem fanatical and violent.

Despite unconfirmed reports that Iran axa being flooded with weapons, including some purportedly provided by the Paling some purportedly provided by the Paling some purported provided by the Paling some purported provided by the Paling some purported by the Paling some purport

Such incidents have alarmed Iran's minorities, especially its 80,000-member Jewish community-one of the oldest in the Middle East-and 250,000 Christian Armenians. Although there have been no overt signs of anti-Semitism, the Avatullah's known antipathy to Zionism and Israel raises fears among Jewish families that there could be a repetition of the purges that took place in Egypt and Iraq after 1948. Khomeini has repeatedly assured Iran's minorities that their rights will be protected. Last month he sent a large floral wreath to the new "Hagh Hom," the leader of the Jewish community, with a note of assurance: "We are brothers living next to each other. It is only the government which tries to confuse everything." Nonetheless, an estimated 5,000 Jews have left the country. most for the U.S. and Europe.

They were not alone. Alarmed by what the State Department called the "uncertain security situation," and fearing



Iranian troops put on show of force in Tehran the day before the Ayatullah's arrival
Some waved and yelled warnings at bystanders, while others fired into the crowd.



Shi'ite Spokesman Ayatullah Taleghani Condemning the burnings by gangs.

a tide of anti-American sentiment. Ambassador William Sullivan asked Americans whose presence was not essential to leave. Despite many Iranians' personal reassurances to foreigners of their friendship, there were two ugly incidents: Major Larry Davis was hit by two bullets as he returned home, and was rushed to the U.S. Army hospital; U.S. Consul David McGaffey was punched and beaten by an irate group of Iranians when he tried to intervene in an incident between an American and a taxi driver. By week's end, all but 5,000 of the 45,000 Americans who had lived in Iran up until September were gone. U.S. officials say that the American business community is cutting back to the bare minimum that can sustain their corporate operations.

Administration officials were also concerned about the protection of sophisticated weaponry. At the Isfahan airbase, some of the 78 advanced F-14 fighter planes equipped to fire Phoenix missiles are housed within concentric rings of security; last week Iranian forces guarding the base suddenly excluded a number of American advisers. U.S. military officials have contingency plans to destroy or spirit out of the country some of the most sensitive equipment if necessary. The most important items are the fighters and 500 Phoenix missiles stored in igloos near by If there was a clear danger that these missiles might fall into Soviet hands, Pentagon sources suggest, loyal Iranian pilots would fly the planes to safety, possibly Saudi Arabia. U.S. officials fear that any such plans, if carried out without consulting the Iranian government, would be



Khomeini Adviser Mehdi Bazargan

construed, however, as an unwarranted interference in Iran's domestic affairs. Many Iranians were furious that the U.S. was sending emergency supplies of diesel il to the country's military. The loan suggested to them that Washington was implicitly supporting the army's brutality against civilians.

Those who know the Ayatullah expect that eventually he will settle in the Shi'tie holy city of Qum and resume a life of teaching and prayer. It seems improbable that he would try to become the control of Architecture of Iran, stand of Architecture of Iran, meini believes that Iran should become a parliamentary democracy, with several political parties. But he is unlikely to withdraw to shadows and slience until

the threat of civil war is removed. To avoid more bloodshed, the Ayatullah may have to make some concessions. Says Massoud Behnoud, a Tehran lawyer: "If Khomeini reaches some kind of compromise with the Bakhtiar government he can bring the constructive south."

of compromise with the Bakhtiar government, he can bring the country peaceably to a referendum on a new constitution. He doesn't even have to fear chaos too greatly. He already has 90% of the peoje with him. If he now begins to share his absolute power and allow other groups to speak out more, we will be on our way to liberty. Khomeini's real power will be that of the religious leader of Ira!

homeini's success with the army depends largely on how he handles the sensitive issue of the constitution, which has become a rallying point for pro-monarchy commanders. Several of Khomeini's associates. including Karim Sanjabi, leader of the National Front, the main political opposition, believe that the Ayatullah might agree to use the present constitution as a device for the transition of power. "The army will go along with any government that is representative," says Sanjabi, "If Bakhtiar resigns, it is not difficult to find a solution based on a temporary government accepted by the people." At week's end, the Khomeini strategy seemed to be one of waiting for members of parliament and the regency council to resign. So far 72 out of 200 deputies in the legislature have resigned; if half do so, a Khomeini aide said, Bakhtiar's government has no legal basis

If a compromise is reached, the U.S. will have played a minimal role in it. The reason: anything that carries Washington's approval is now anathema in Iran. Some Administration advisers admit that open endorsement of Bakhtiar was a serious mistake, and that U.S. policy toward Iran should have remained noncommittal once the Shah's ruling days were clearly



Members of imperial guard go through military exercises at Javidan base near royal palace Some top commanders favored a coup, but many soldiers would not follow.

ment by President Carter in January rebuking Khomeini and urging him to support the Bakhtiar government. State Department experts at that time were pretty well convinced that the Prime Minister had only the remotest chances of surviving.

Belatedly changing a long-held policy of the U.S. embassy in Iran, Ambassador Sullivan has encouraged his subordinates to open a dialogue with the Khomeini forces. U.S. diplomats have initiated contacts with a number of the Avatullah's key aides, both in France and Iran. By and large, they have been well received by Khomeini's representatives. who have stressed that it was not too late to repair relations between the Shi'ite leader and the U.S. Mehdi Bazargan, a Khomeini adviser in Tehran with broad political experience who is often mentioned as a potential government leader, emphasized to U.S. officials recently that a beneficial working relationship is "most definitely possible" with Washington. The crucial factor, he insists, is that any future trade relationship be based on an equitable exchange of goods and not distorted by extravagant sales of sophisticated weapons. At the same time, Khomeini's top economic adviser Hassan Abdul Banisard, has implied that oil production will probably have to be cut in half to regulate the flow of capital into

Another valuable ally, in the U.S. view, would be Seyyed Mohammed Beheshti, a well-educated and widely traveled Ayatullah who has been Khomeini's chief behind-the-scenes contact in Tehran. But observers say it may take a while to see who the key figures around Khomeini prove to be; the Paris advisers may well give way to those who have supported him in Tehran.

ashington's greatest fear now is a military coup, which would inevitably spark a civil war and adversely affect any U.S. presence for many years to come. Says a State Department official recently returned from Tehran: "There is no question that a military takeover would be most dangerous for U.S. interests. It would blow away the moderates and invite the majority to unite behind a radical faction."

Even if Iran gets a new government that has both popular support and Khomeini's blessing, the troubles plaguing the country will not vanish overnight. As one U.S. specialist noted: "The Shah left, but he didn't take the problems of the country with him." The best estimates are that it will take two months to get the oilfields back to export production level even if work starts at once. Meanwhile, the country has a paralyzed economy and shattered loan credibility. Except for two to three dozen firms, all of the country's 600 major industries have been shut down by strikes since early December. And, although they may not be missed, most of the once fabled Iranian rich have left the country, Significantly, this includes 120 of the country's 200 leading business and industrial figures. Estimates of the drain of capital that has left the country range into the billions of dollars.

Yet, for all the problems ahead, there was a sense of controlled optimism in Iran last weekend. Now that the country's cry for the Ayatullah's return has been answered. Iranians will surely insist that the revolution live up to its democratic aims. "Democracy is a very difficult thing for a country that does not have a democratic tradition," Daryush Shayegan, a noted Islamic philosopher in Tehran, told TIME Correspondent David Jackson last week. "But Iranians are ready to learn it. Khomeini is an Islamic Gandhi. He is at the axis of our movement, and his greatest achievement will have been to have overthrown the regime. But there must be a democratic republic. In the Iranian character, miracles always happen at the last moment. I hope one will happen again.

Washington's Caviar Coup

ran's opulent embassy on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington has long been famous, perhaps even notorious, as a dazzling showcase for the Shah's vision of the good life. There the beautiful people would gather to devour gossip and caviar, sip Dom Pérignon and dance until dawn under the indulgent stewardship of the Shah's trusted adviser and former son-in-law, Ambassador Ardeshir Zahedi, Last week

this stately pleasure dome had turned into a microcosm of the political chaos back home

Shortly after Zahedi left Washington to escort the Shah's children to their parents' refuge in Morocco, the acting deputy of the mission, Assad Homayoun, received instructions from his Foreign Ministry in Tehran: remove all portraits of the Shah from the premises. Homayoun duly complied. Learning of this, six irate military attachés at the mission, led by Maior General Mokhateb Rafii, called Zahedi in Morocco and told him what had happened. Equally irate, Zahedi ordered them to put the pictures back in place. Armed with revolvers, the attachés marched into the embassy last Tuesday night, remounted the Shah's portraits, and settled down for a siege.

When Homayoun and other

morning, General Rafii and his mini-army brandished their weapons and declared they were under orders from Zahedi to maintain control of the embassy until his return. After vainly arguing with the attaches that he held the reins of authority in Zahedi's absence, Homayoun hurried over to the State Department. The department's Iran desk officer. Henry R. Precht, was sympathetic but unable to help. Reason: Washington was baffled by the imbroglio and did not want to meddle in a family quarrel.

Ever the diplomat, Homayoun met again with the oc-

-camera's cupying attachés in an attempt to break the impasse, but negotiations ended in stalemate. Meanwhile twelve other members of the embassy staff, who had walked off the job in a mutiny against Zahedi and the Shah two weeks ago, announced their support of the acting deputy and his demand that the military officers give up the

When the guards stubbornly refused to abandon their occupation, Homayoun revoked the diplomatic status of Major General Rafii and Zahedi's spokesman Ali Tabatabai, who was accused of lying to cover up the mini-coup. But at week's end, Zahedi returned from Morocco and stepped back into the fray. He asked Homayoun to reverse his decision; when he declined, Homayoun was summarily fired along with four other diplomats who supported him.



diplomats showed up for work next Zahedi in front of ill-fated royal family portrait

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Iraq and Syria: A New Axis for Unity

Their merger moves ahead "like a rocket to the moon"

11 nity between Syria and Iraq will be-come the axis for a strong, unified-Arab policy," declares Syria's Information Minister Ahmed Iskander, 35. "We have gone far beyond a first step." The Iraqis clearly agree. "By the will of God. says Iraq's Vice Chairman Saddam Hussein Takriti. "the unity between our two countries will be made permanent." The negotiations are proceeding, adds an excited Foreign Ministry official in Baghdad, "like a rocket to the moon!

Syria and Iraq have been enemies for years, ruled by feuding wings of the Baathist Party. So they surprised just about everybody in the Middle East when they announced that they were seriously thinking of merging into one unified state. Under the plan, Syria and Iraq would share their oil and water, and would unite their military establishments into a force of 440,000 troops, 4,500 tanks and more than 730 combat aircraft. The Defense, Foreign and Information ministries of the two governments would also be united. and the presidency would rotate every six months between Damascus and Baghdad.

There is a certain political logic to the merger. The militant Arab states, and even many of the more moderate ones. were badly shaken by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's peace initiative. With Egypt neutralized, they would have a hard time presenting a credible threat to Israel. But a united Syria and Iraq, acting with the cooperation of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, would constitute what one Jerusalem official calls "a serious military defense problem along our northern borders." Moreover, the governments of Syria and Iraq are worried about the current upheaval in Iran and the rising militancy of Iran's Shi'ite Muslim majority. Iraq is particularly worried because it too has a large Shi'ite population

Some Middle East experts wonder whether the merger will last any longer than the ill-fated 1958-61 union of Syria and Egypt. Nonetheless, there are already signs of a basic change in relations between the two countries. Troops have been reduced along the common border. After years of vilifying each other's countries, radio stations in Damascus and Baghdad are broadcasting messages of homage and brotherhood. Soon pipelines will again carry Iraqi oil across Syria to the Mediterranean.

The merger plan represents more of a turnaround for Iraq, a country that for 20 years has been a kind of odd-man-out in the Arab world. Since 1974, Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan Bakr, 64, has been quietly moderating his government's foreign policy even as he modernized his TURKEY IRAG

country's landscape. Last week TIME's Cairo bureau chief, Dean Brelis, visited Iraq, a California-size country of 12 million people, with 34,500 bbl. in proven oil reserves. His report:

Today's Baghdad positively throbs with progress. The streets are clean, the traffic surprisingly orderly, the shops filled with consumer goods from Western Europe and the U.S. The city, built along the banks of the sluggish Tigris River, was one of the principal locales of The Thousand and One Nights. Today, with 20story buildings rising above its graceful mosques, it looks every bit the citadel of Baath power that may soon stretch from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. Last year. Irag's oil earned the coun-

try \$9.6 billion, and hardly a week passes without bringing rumors of new discoveries. The force of the latest strike, it is said in the bars and bazaars, was so great that a 30-ton bulldozer was hurled 50 feet into the air. This year the Iraqis are im-

porting \$1 billion worth of Western goods. In less than a decade, the country's per capita income has jumped from \$200 to \$1,500. Yet the Iraqis have managed to hold their inflation rate to 8%. They have also held foreign influence over their oil industry to a minimum. Says an Iraqi Petroleum Company official: "We are the only Arab country that can make this claim: we run our oilfields without the help of a single foreigner.

Iraqis remain distrustful of the U.S., largely because of its support for Israel. They also complain that Washington, until 1975, gave covert support to a now quiescent Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq. Though the Iraqis have been politically close to the Soviet Union for the past decade, there are signs today that they are moving toward a more independent course. One Iraqi official recalls that in 1972 Baghdad sold the Soviets some oil at bargain prices and agreed to be paid in rubles. The Iraqis later discovered that the Russians had turned around and sold the same oil in Western Europe at top prices and for hard currency. "We learned a lesson," says the official. "We don't get burned twice.

raq is a tough socialist police state. Po-litical troublemakers disappear routinely. Nobody knows how many political prisoners are behind bars, but last summer the Bakr regime celebrated its tenth anniversary by releasing 7,000 of them. The Baath Party's strongest opponents are the Communists, of whom at least 3 000 have been killed since 1963

Despite its harshness in suppressing dissent, the Bakr government appears to be popular with most Iraqis. Education and medical care are free to all, and most of the population has shared in the present prosperity. Of all the recent social changes, none is more remarkable than the liberation of Iraqi women. Today they constitute one-third of the country's professional class and 26% of its indus-

trial work force. Unlike their sisters in many other Arab states, they can own land, inherit property and, if di-

vorced, receive alimony. If the merger with Syria is consummated, Iraq's movement toward moderation is likely to accelerate. Until now, Iraq has been one of the most adamant opponents of negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis. But when Bakr and Syrian President Hafez Assad met in Baghdad last October, they agreed to base their foreign policy toward Israel on two demands: a return of all Arab lands occupied by the Israelis since the 1967 war, and the creation of a Palestinian state. Though neither Bakr nor Assad believes that the Israelis are prepared to make such concessions, it is significant that the Iragis now seem prepared to accept Israel's existence, at least in principle.



Two decades of rivalry may soon come to an end



Compromise Candidate Benjedid Chadli

ALGERIA

New Leader

A decline of one-man rule

f ever a man embodied Louis XIV's leg-endary boast, "L'état, c'est moi," it was the late Algerian leader Houari Boumedienne. When he died last December. Boumedienne was not only Algeria's President but also its Minister of Defense, president of the Council of the Revolution and chief of the National Liberation Front (F.L.N.), the country's only political party. Finding a President to succeed such a pervasive figure presented a delicate problem for the eight-man council, many of whose members aspired to the post. In the end, the council settled on a compromise candidate: Colonel Benjedid Chadli, 49, a littleknown officer who seems likely to keep Algeria on the track selected by the departed Boumedienne

Chadli's name will be presented as the sole candidate in a pro forme election on Feb. 7. His nomination settles, for the moment at least, a division within the Revenue of the sole of the

But when the 3.290 delegates to the F.L.N's fourth congress convened in Algiers last week to ratify the councils
choice, neither Yahiaoui nor Bouteflika
had gained a majority in the Council of
the Revolution. The reason: neither man
had won the support of the army, which
had virtual veto power over the choice.
The impasse forced the congress to add
another day to its scheduled four, but in

the end, Chadli, the military's candidate, prevailed.

Like many names used by veterans of the anticolonial war against France. Chadli's name is a nom de guerre. Algeria's television-wise reporters have another name for him, "Jeff Chandler," after the white-haired and rugged-looking Hollywood actor of the 1950s. Born in a farm village near Annaba on the Mediterranean, he served as a junior officer in the French army until 1954. He then joined the clandestine National Liberation Army, eventually rising to the command of its 13th battalion, based near F.L.N. sanctuaries in Tunisia. After independence, he was picked by Boumedienne to head the important second military district, based in Oran. A devout Muslim whose wife never appears in public without a veil, Chadli has avoided the political limelight. In his ten-minute acceptance speech last week, he vowed that he would be a faithful guardian of the Boumedienne legacy. He declared, "I affirm that socialism is an irreversible option for our country. I pledge myself to fight for the maintenance of our national independence both politically and economically and to maintain the mastery of our national wealth."

Chadi's pledge will mean a continued tstrain in Algeria's relations with its perennial rival. Morecco. Since Spain cedcl control of its former colony of Spanish Sahara to Morecco and Mauritamia in the Polisario liberation movement, which seeks to create a new "Saharan Arab Democratic Republic" in the desert area along the Atlantic seaboard. The guerrillas have recently abandomed a unilatrillas have recently abandomed a unilatrillas have recently abandomed a unilatrillas have recently abandomed a unilatsie," which they claim has scored sev-

Domesically, Chadifis biggest problem will be reviving the economy. To cushion the impact of declining oil revenues as Algeria's petroleum reserves are depleted, Bournedienne underrock ambisectors of the economy, including housing and agriculture, were saily neglected and went into decline. Foreign experts believe that the solution lies in an injection of free enterprise and a loosening of burease ratic controls. But whether Chadifi results are controls. But whether Chadification is a supersistep remains to be seen.

Whatever policies emerge under Chadli, the new President is not likely ever to be as powerful as his predecessor. Before selecting Chadli last week, the Before selecting Chadli last week, the forms that will replace Boumedienne's tightly controlled Council of the Revolution with a more broadly based central committee and a 17-member polithuro responsible for policy decisions. At least for Algeria seem to be over.

ITALY

The 40th Fall

Setting the scene for violence

taly's 40th government since the fall of Fascism in 1943 collapsed with a familiar crash last week, creating a crisis that presaged general elections and, quite possibly, renewed political terrorism. Charging that the Christian Democrats had reneged on an agreement to consult them on important government decisions, the Communists withdrew from an alliance of major parties that had supported the one-party government of Premier Giulio Andreotti in Parliament. Without the backing of the Communist. Socialist. Republican and Social Democratic parties, Andreotti mildly told the Chamber of Deputies, he had no choice except to step down as head of a Cabinet that had lasted for a precarious ten months.

Party Chief Enrico Berlinguer and other Communist leaders insisted that henceforth they would settle for nothing less than 'a presence in the government'—meaning seats in a future Cabinet. Berlew Berling from a tacit collaboration with the Christian Democrats. Indeed, the Communists complained that they had been blamed for unpopular government decisions without having gained any real decisions without having gained any real

A Communist pledge to cooperate in a three-year government economic recovery plan, for example, had been attacked by workers who felt that they would suffer from new austerity measures and wage restraints. Similarly, the Andreotti government's failure to make a dent in unemployment, which rose from 1.5 million



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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health. And only L&M Long Lights give you the taste of 100% virgin tobacco!



*Based on Maxwell Report, 1977.

Long Lights; 8 mg. "tar", 0.6 mg. nicotine; av. per cigarette, FTC Report (May '78).

to 1.7 million in 1978, caused the jobless to criticize Berlinguer for not pushing through employment programs.

As a result, extreme left-wing groups and militant nonaligned unions had gained a host of new supporters, while the Communists suffered significant losses in local elections last year. Apparently reacting to widespread charges that the Communists had betrayed ideology for the illustion of influence, the once moderate and conciliation only and the continuous control of the contro

As his first effort to solve the crisis, Itply \$2.9car=0.0 Persident Sandro Perini asked Andreotti to try to form a new
government. If he succeeds, it will mark
the third Cabinet in a row that Andreott
has headed, but the odds are against
Although a skilled parliamentarian, he
does not belong to the Christian Denceratic leadership. His control to the
cratic leadership is and the control to the
standard of the control to the
was kidnaped and murdered by Red Bripades terrorists asty year.

The Christian Democrats and the Communists together represent about 70% of the popular vote. If they fail to find a face-saving compromise, the result could be a general election well in advance of the one scheduled for 1981. Both major the control of the contr

The Communist losses in last year's regional elections partly reflected public reaction to atrocities by ultrafelfist terrorists, who regard themselves ultrafels terrorists, who regard themselves ultreaks of terrorist violence are unlikely to help Berlinguer at the polls. Last week, for example, Milan's deputy public prosecutor, and the state of the polls and the state of the red Brigades. He was the third terrorist victim in a month and the 34th in the past 13 months. Protesting his murder, Milan's trade unions called an fornis's formers.

Many Italians fear that calling elections would set the scene for even more terrorism. "This is a period when this country cannot afford to be without psmat in Rome last week. "The vacuum and confusion created by an electoral campaign could be extremely dangerous." Fearly elections would be a concessial teader Betton Craxi. "Early elections would be a concession training the country," seemed to the control of the country, and the country, when the country is the country is the country of the country is the country of the country is the country of the country is the country in the country in the country is the country in the country is the country in the country is the country in the country in the country in the country is the country in th

Peace at a Price

Truckers settle, but other strikes get worse

Black plastic bags of garbage piled up of London last eck. Briminghan's major by the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the plant of the plant of the plant of the the plant of the the plant of the pla

Seeking wage hikes of 40%, thousands of garbage men, hospital workers, gravediggers and schoolteachers were staging wildcat walkouts, even though Britain otherwise was supposed to be enjoying a week of relative labor peace. That erstwhite peace had been purchased at a

summoned leaders of four public service unions to 10 Downing Street, imploring them to show compassion for the public. The uncompromising response from one union official: "We will put the screws on tighter and tighter."

Meanwhile. Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey had grim warnings for Britons about a new inflationary spiral. If Mage increases sought by public service employees and other striking workers asthe-digit inflation by summer, reaching 13% by year's end (current rate: 9%). The wage hikes could add 56 billion to the cost of public services in Britain, which the Labor government might have to offset by



Refuse piling up in London streets as local garbage strike continues

After three years of pay restraints, "we will put the screws on tighter and tighter.

ers, whose four-week strike had dealt a crippling blow to trade and industry, were toting region by region to return to work. Well they might, since they had won a 21% pay increase for the year, hardly a farthing less than their initial 22.5% demand.

After three years of living with severe pay restraints. British workers are inclined to play follow-the-leader—meaning that the drivers 21% increase will become the magic figure or the result of the

penditures by \$3 billion. If so, the number of unemployed in the country could rise from about 1.5 million to 2 million.

Confident that she has found a winning issue for elections that could take place this spring. Conservative Leader Margaret Thatcher toughened her stand against the unions. Said she: "If someone is inflicting injury, harm and damage, by God, I'll confront them."

One goal of a Thatcher government would be to limit union power by passing legislation to outlaw closed union shops and rule out secondary picketing in which striking workers can disable factories not directly involved for a factories and factories factories fall that national trade unions were too powerful. It was their lowest popularity rating in 40 years of polling.





Smith argues for the referendum, and a white Rhodesian farmer expresses disapproval

RHODESIA

One Step Closer to Black Rule

The danger is that the fighting may turn into all-out civil war

We're trying to put things right, but the battle carries on. What a time, what a time it's been.

What a time, indeed. The current ball lad by Rhodesian Singer Clem Thole treflected the country's mood as Thole treflected the country's mood as Thole treflected the country's mode as Thole treflected the Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, led ball ball treflected the Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, led balk majority role. Lat week, at Smith's urging, white Rhodesians went to the polls to approve by a wide margin a new constitution under which rule is to pass from the country's 24000 whites to its of a million blacks. The transition will take the country is 24000 white to the individual to the country and the

Smith, who had spent two weeks touring the embattled country, professed to be delighted that 85% of the 67,000 voters had supported his position in the referendum. "I had faith in the Rhodesian people to face up to the realities of life," he declared. "The result is even better than expected."

In truth, however, it had been a some ber campaign. Smith's audiences no longer expected the speeches about preserving the "Rhodesian way of life" that had once characterized his campaign style. As he traveled through guerrilla-hit cities, towns and farming areas, his message was constitution is the best of the choice. This constitution is the best of the choice of the constitution is the best of the choice of the constitution is the best of success at a life the more than 50°C. Every audience had felt the devastating effect of the last six years of active guerrilla war. At the Sports Club in the farming area of Centenary where Smith spoke, the man who should have been the chairman, Gert Muller, had died in a rocket attack on his farm on New Year's Day. One woman told Smith that she had lost five relatives within six months. She was supporting him in this election, not out of enthusiasms on moth as out of a continuation of the continuat

Some of the sharpest criticism of Smith's policies came in the cities and towns, where terrorism is increasing. In Salisbury the Prime Minister was heekled by a group of ex-servicemen still committed to the idea of a military solution. "mandate for dissater." and one young veteran taunted Smith with the words of another current song: "Will someone tell us why we fight?" Why what once was wrong is now what's right?" Nobody tried to explain that, by fighting off political change for so many years, the Smith government had helped to bring Rhodesia

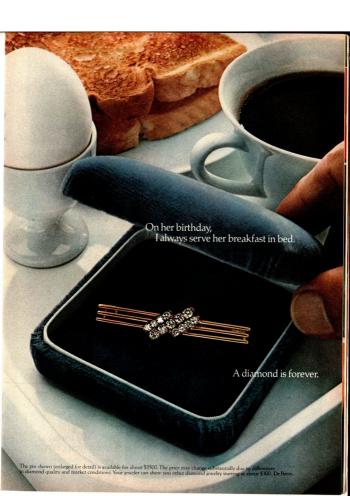
One of Smith's immediate problems is to maintain some kind of unity in his in-terim government, in which he shares power with three moderate black leaders: Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the Rev. Ndabaning Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau. Many black supporters of these proposed of the control of t

elections. The whites will still hold 28 of the 100 seats in Parliament and on-quarter of the Cabinet portfolios, and will recivil service, the police and army for at least ten years. Though they will obviously have far less power than in the days when they ran the whole show, they will not be the production of the production of the production of the production of the proter of the production of the proterior of the proterior of the production of the proterior of the production of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the protection of the protection of the protection of the proterior of the protection of the prote

Even the proposed name of the country under the new constitution reflects the continuing white influence. Until now, it has been assumed that, when Rhodesia passes to black rule, the country would be the continuing the control of the country would be sent to be considered to the control of the control of

The gravest problem, however, is that Rhodesia is still wracked by guerrilla war, and there is no end in sight. Twelve thousand black and white Rhodesians have been killed in six years of fighting; of those, 500 died last month alone, making January the third worst month for casualties since the war began. Almost 90% of the country is under one form or another of martial law; most people travel by convoy, with or without military escort, and most are armed. The Patriotic Front, headed by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, has 12,000 guerrillas inside Rhodesia and thousands more in neighboring Mozambique and Zambia. The prospect is that it will fight on as long as it thinks it has a chance of coming to power in Salisbury. Western governments and several other interested parties made overtures last year to coax Nkomo into abandoning Mugabe and joining the interim Rhodesian regime. The efforts failed. Dismissing last week's results and the April election as well, Nkomo scathingly told TIME: "The people will have won the war by April.

mith's hope is that the elections in S Rhodesia may persuade the U.S., Britain and other Western governments to take the lead in ending the 13-year U.N. economic sanctions against his country. Once a new black government is accepted as legitimate by other nations. it might then be able to gain some military support, if only from South Africa and a few others, in fending off the guerrillas. A likelier prospect is that the guerrilla war will turn into a broader civil war as the various black factions, separated by tribal, personality and ideological divisions, battle each other for power, Small wonder, then, that more than 13,000 of Rhodesia's dwindling number of whites chose to emigrate last year, and that between now and the April elections another 10,000 are expected to leave.



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World

EAST-WEST

Advice on Dissent

Sakharov speaks on détente

President Carter's polity of sharryly attacting human rights violations in the dam nothing to change the Kremlin's stamp-liout approach to political dissent. In a thoughtful article published in a special February issue of Trialogue, the bullein of the Trialteral Commission, Physicist Andrel Sakharov, father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb and leader of his country's beleaguered dissident movement, and discover's leaders to improve their human rights record without damaging detente. Excerpts:

The Carter policy lon human rights responds to the demands of our time, and it is very important that it receive even broader support. In the Western press, the thought has sometimes been expressed that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, in whose success the Soviet Union is in-applying pressure on the USS.Rs. on the question of human rights. In my opinion, such a viewpoint is not correct.

I believe that the problem of lessening the danger of annihilating humanity in a nuclear war carries an absolute priority over all other considerations. I believe that the principle of practicably separating the questions of disarmament from other problems, as formulated by the Administration, is completely correct.

Another problem widely discussed in the Western press concerns the use of boycotts—scientific, cultural, economic and so forth—as a means of applying pressure on the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of



Andrei Sakharov in Moscow
No boycotts with ultimatums.

freeing at least some political prisoners. I welcome such boycotts as a means of expressing protest. However, the problem of boycotts is complex and contradictory. The very traditions of a strong power do not allow the leaders of totalitarian states to react directly to pressure exerted against them. At the same time, boycotts weaken realistically useful contacts and diminish the number of levers that can be used to apply pressure in the future. With a few rare exceptions, it is best to avoid boycotts with ultimatums. That is, it should not be indicated in an obvious manner that the boycott will cease only if the totalitarian regime undertakes certain concrete steps. In such a case, a boycott will create a situation in which the opposite side is pushed into a "dead end" whence it cannot extricate itself without losing face

I am also convinced of the necessity of combining various and impressive public campaigns with an energetic and change of political prisoners can be an important area of action for quiet diplomates and a compared to the content of the content of



Butting In

The carton is a currency

A Rumanian lovely at a hotel bar in Bucharest sidled suggestively over to the American tourist. Instead of the usual offer of sexual delights, she cooed a surprising request: "Darling, you buy me a carton of Kents, O.K.?"

American-made Kent cigarettes, in their familiar white package, have become a form of alternative currency in President Nicolae Ceausescu's Socialist Republic. Diplomats and foreign visitors use them as tips or to consummate business as well as sexual deals. Nor do the cigarettes immediately go up in smoke. Instead, they are traded back and forth by Rumanians, who prize them as a luxury item. The street price is three times the \$1.10 cost per pack in the special dollar shops run for foreigners. "It's a startling feature of life here," says one Western diplomat. "You can't conduct business without at least having to consider using Kents-not necessarily as payment, but as a lubricant to keep things going smoothly.

The popularity of Kents over all other imported cigarettes has less to do with taste or tar content than with the fact that Brown & Williamson International, which markets Kents abroad, has cor-



nered 90% of the Rumanian cigarette import market. The dollar shop at Bucharest's Intercontinental Hotel is piled high with cartons of Kents, a tantalizing symbol of Western opulence. Among the principal purchasers are Third World students in Rumania, who supplement their meager stipends by buying Kents and trading them for cash. Such traffic, though illegal, is tolerated by the government. After all, bribery has been part of Rumanian life since the country was under the domination of the Ottoman Empire. "We were under many foreign influences," says one bureaucrat. "We learned good things and bad things. From the Turks. From the Byzantines." He pauses and grins. Even from the Russians.

Even roint tile Russians. Kents jurchasing power is high. One diplomat gets excellent refuse removal service for a year by tipping the garbage-service for a year by tipping the garbage-cigare's Rumanian maid asked her employer for a few packs of Kents, she explained that her daughter was preparing to take college entrance exams; the cigarettes might serve to temper the severity of the examiner.

Kents are often used to obtain better and faster treatment at hard-pressed state clinics, where services are supposedly grants. But bribery always has its risks. A physical properties are supposedly grants and the services are serviced by the services of the services of

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Our new Companion Fare.

Pay Coach fare and take along any adult for 50% off. No advance purchase. Just buy your tickets and go.

From February 13 through March 31, anyone who pays the regular day or night Coach fare on American can take along another adult

for half the day Coach fare. Just buy both tickets at the same time, and then travel together, roundtrip, to anyplace we fly in the continental U.S.

You can return as early as the first Sunday after departure or stay as long as 7 days.

Each adult can take 2 kids free.

During February and March, anyone who

pays any Coach fare on American can take along two children under 12, absolutely free.

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Save 35% to 55% with only 7 days advance purchase.

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Save 35% to 55% to Nightcoach cities, and 35% or 45% to every other city we fly to in the continental United States. (Savings are greater Monday through Thursday than they are Friday through Sunday.)

Just make roundtrip reservations and buy tickets at least 7 days before you fly.

Return as early as the first Sunday after de parture or stay as long as 60 days. Seats are limited, so call us or your Travel Agent soon.

Each adult can take 2 kids free.

During February and March, anyone who pays any Coach fare on American can take along two children under 12, absolutely free. So call today about American's two new money-saving fares. Then take your pick.

And take your family.

Press



Chinese cameramen cluster at a Chinese embassy party for Vice President Mondale

"Fantastic!" "Beautiful!"

China's touring newsmen praise a former paper tiger

In six of the 32 journalists who accompanies to the U.S. knew little or no Engish. Before the week was out, the Chinese reporters and film crews had learned a great deal about "body English" and were elbowing and kneeing for position along with the most practiced members and long been taught to think of as the land of "imperialists" and "paper tigers," these Chinese observers seemed withdrawn and lacking in the curious eye, pugnacious stance and fast, fotowork of their West-

During their recent trip to the People's Republic. American journalists filmed hand-holding couples in city parks, raided beauty parlors and chronicled a Peking duck's journey from barnyard to dinner table. The Chinese sent home lowkey interviews with the manager of Atlanta's Peachtree Plaza Hotel and an average family in Washington, A U.S. reporter wondered whether the visitors might explore some of the less attractive aspects of life in America. "That's not our plan," replied a Chinese television producer. "Our purpose is to help build friendship between our two peoples." So. instead of accustomed adjectives like "decadent" and "bourgeois," China's press was studded with "fantastics" and beautifuls.

The idea, of course, was to give the waiting millions back home an absolutely glowing account of Teng's triumphant journey. Accordingly, no inconvenient details or unpleasant incidents were to

be photographed or written about. Violent protests by uitraradical Maeists in Washington's Lafayette Park and demonstrations by Tawanese (opalists in Atlanta went unreported. With right Atlanta went unreported. With right Teng's host country as Americal the beautiful, a land apparently without powrry, blessedly free of political or racial strife, a perfect industrial model for the new China. As filler, Chimee TV stations even dipped into focuse from US. Introduced the Company of the Company of the filler chime to the Company of the Company of the filler chime to the Company of the Company of the filler chime to the Company of the Compa

To summarize each day's events, Chinese producers and technicians, assisted by personnel on loan from the three U.S. networks, put together 20- to 40-minute nightly telecasts. These were notable for their rousing music-America the Beautiful and She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain were favorites-and leisurely pace. For the same type of sequence that an American network packs into 60 to 90 seconds, the Chinese frequently used more than five minutes, unbroken by commercials. Teng's diplomatic activities, his excursions to a Ford Motor plant outside Atlanta and the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center near Houston, plus all social gatherings were presented in loving detail.

Coverage of the trip created relatively little stir back in the People's Republic. The telecasts reached only a comparatively small portion of the population (700.000 TV sets for 1 billion people), yet they did have some impact, particularly in Peking. "Walking down the street," noted an American diplomat serving noted an American diplomat serving

there, "I heard a number of people saying 'Jimmilee Cahter," which is their way of pronouncing the President's name."

In Taiwan, Teng's trip was presented differently. TV coverage of the visit was dominated by shots of the anti-Teng demonstrators. It was difficult, however, to discern exactly what the crowds were protesting because Teng himself was not shown at all on Taiwan's TV screens.

shown at all on Taiwan's TV screens.
Although they warmed up toward the
end of their visit, the Chinese reporters extend of their visit, the Chinese reporters extend of their visit of the control of the control
of the control of the control of the control
of Houston inspired one reporter to venture a faintly salty comment. Confronted
und and more buggies at the Lyndon Johnson Space Center, he saw fit to paraphrase
ex-Premier Chou En-lai: "We have too
many problems down here on earth Unmany problems down here on earth Unthe control of the control of the control
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Split Personality

A Franco-American Look

The logo is the same, and so is the commitment to picture. Occasionally it flashes the informality and common touch of its popular predecesor. But in many respects the new Look, back this week after seven years, is a magazine with a split personality. As if to emphasize the fact, the first issue is being sold under two different covers. Look East, distributed as far as the Rockies, features the late Nelson Rockefeller, while Patricia Hearst smiles from the cover of Look West.

The new Look is the gamble and brainchild of Daniel Filipacchi, 51, former disc jockey and news photographer who is now the successful publisher of Paris Match. His original intent was a \$1 weekly with outsized 9-in, by 12-in, pages. But fearing that the magazine's \$25 million bankroll (Filipacchi put up 51%, six French partners the rest) might be exhausted before the new venture got on its feet, he decided to lower the publishing frequency to twice a month and raise the price to \$1.25. At the outset Look expects to sell 600,000 copies, less than one-tenth the 6.5 million total the old Look had when it folded. If things go according to plan, readership will swell to 1.5 million in three years, and the magazine will break into the black in 1983.

Based in New York, Look's editorial staff is a kind of Franco-American spanghetti: partly Parisian designers and layout people, partly veteran U.S. journalists acquired from places like TiME, the Village Voice and the Washington Post.

Though Filipacchi now spends twothirds of his time in the U.S. and participates in all major editorial and business decisions, the man most in charge is Ed-

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- Gila Monster, which hangs onto its prey with such tenacity, it sometimes can only be torn loose with pliers...
- Racer Snake, which can easily outdistance a man over rough terrain by means of a complex serpentine locomotion...
- Crocodile, slowly driven toward extinction by its own cannibalism
 of its young ... and man's greed for its hide.
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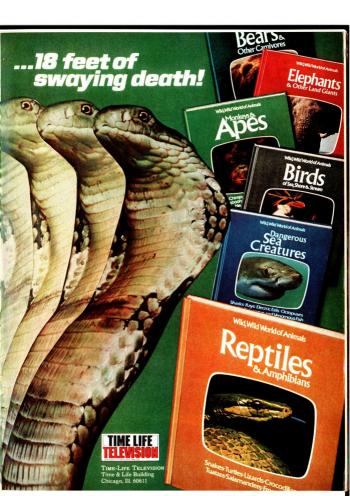


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Press



West cover

ented toward middle-class Middle America." insists Gutwillig.



table for the influence of Paris Match, a firm faith in black and white photographs as well as color, and an em-

itor and President Robert Gutwillig.

47, a graduate of Playboy Enterprises with ten years in

serious book publishing (World Publishing), "We're ori-

phasis on energy and human interest rather than elegance of design. It contains a previously unpublished, 17-year-old interview with Marilyn Monroe and some all too predictable pictures of the likes of Brooke Shields and Princess Caroline (after all, the word cliché means photograph in French). The most dramatic journalistic coup is a picture essay using exclusive photographs taken in Jonestown just before the mass suicide. A colorful jab at conspicuous consumption in Beverly Hills is reminiscent of the original Look, and so is a story about a do-it-vourself homebuilding school in Maine

e're trying to put together a mag-azine that can be both read and skimmed," says Gutwillig. Though the editors show a deft touch with short text blocks, few readers are going to be able to skim the three longish articles offered a 5.400-word account by Syndicated Columnist Robert Novak of his November interview with China's Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing, as well as the two cover stories on Rockefeller and Hearst.

The old Look fell victim to television competition, rising postal rates and the high cost of subscription renewals. The new Look hopes to sidestep such difficulties, concentrating on single-copy sales from racks in supermarkets, shopping centers and stationery stores. Look people regard LIFE's revival four months ago as an encouraging icebreaker. If LIFE does well, they hold, Look may too. So far the LIFE signs are good. The Time Inc. monthly magazine just raised its ad guaranteed circulation to 1 million, from 700.000

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

When Seeing Isn't Believing

Were Iranian troops still loyal to the Shah, and would they fire on their own people? When the Shah left, the answers weren't clear. But in Tehran these days, the way to make your point is to demonstrate, preferably in front of cameras. And, so reported the New York Times nervously, about 80 soldiers in gas masks "advanced toward the correspondents, stabbing the air with their bayonets." This press demonstration by the Immortals Brigade of the Imperial Guard was organized by one Amir-Sadeghi, who then said of the Ayatullah Khomeini, "We'll chop him up for dog meat-or maybe use him for target practice." Amir-Sadeghi was characterized by the Times as "the first person to give foreign correspondents accurate information about the Shah's plan to leave Iran' -and less generously by the Washington Post as "the son of the Shah's former chauffeur and a young man much given to verbal exaggeration

The news out of Iran has been like that: rarely has reporting from anywhere been so tentative. Dispatches are full of "Little is known about day of contradictory developments . . " "Other sources gave a slightly different "How many civilians harbor such feelings is impossible to say, account ... since many keep their views to themselves." Only when Ramsey Clark, after a short visit, proclaimed that 99% of the people were behind Khomeini did the New York Times's R.W. Apple Jr. commit himself to a "conservative guess" that at least 15% to 20% of Iranians were antagonistic or indifferent to the

Avatullah. In the current situation, even seeing isn't believing, as all television viewers know who saw and heard the Ayatullah's "spokesman" address the cameras, only to have everything he said repudiated by the old man the next day. On the eve of Khomeini's return to Tehran, the New York Times admitted all in a frontpage headline: AYATULLAH, THE SYMBOL OF REVOLT, ELUDES DEFINITION.

The Iran story is a textbook example of why it is necessary to weigh on different scales what reporters say and what columnist-pundits do. A columnist is usually admired for the vigor of his opinions and regarded as wishy-washy if he does too much on-the-other-handing. In Iran, where so much is happening but so little is conclusive, a reporter who must return to the same story day after day just hopes events haven't undone what he has just written. His ambition is a humbler one: to describe confusion lucidly, and to allow a comfortable margin for the unknown

BS News does think it clearly knows how Americans feel about President Carter's recognition of Communist China—he hasn't got a majority behind him. Just before Teng Hsiao-p'ing's visit, the CBS News-New York Times poll telephoned 1,500 American homes and asked, "Do you think Jimmy Carter should have pushed for closer ties with Communist China even though that meant breaking off relations with the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan?" With the question put that way, only 32% said yes, another 22% had no opinion and 46% disapproved. Is this America speaking?

By now everybody seems resigned to the melancholy fact that a mere 1,500 Americans-carefully balanced by region, then weighted by race, sex, age and education-can reasonably forecast how all Americans will vote for President. Warren Mitofsky, who runs the CBS poll, claims to have predicted only one election wrong in twelve years. He snorts at what seems an obvious and disturbing inference-that it's hard to speak of independent opinions independently arrived at, if, without asking a whole country, its responses can be anticipated on the basis of so small a sample. According to statistical theory, says Mitofsky, the results of his question about Communist China would "differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all adult Americans." It's easy to test that 3% margin precisely at election time, which is why pollsters are so nervous about their voting predictions. But when the question is a more nebulous one about policies or beliefs, in which the wording can greatly alter the results, how valuable and how accurate are 1,500 answers as a reflection of what all America thinks? The figure of 22% with no opinion on the question doesn't seem high to Mitofsky "because people don't seem to care about foreign policy these days." But had they been asked, some might have explained their don't-knows by saying, "Depends on how Peking behaves, depends how much we stick by Taiwan, depends on a lot of things." Maybe that's the sort of thing the German mathematician C.F. Gauss was thinking about when he spoke of "meaningless precision in numerical studies."

How one simple phone call saved a woman in a jam.

Based on an actual call made to the toll-free 24-hour Whirlpool Cool-Line® service.

(Telephone Rings)

Cool-Line Consultant: Whirlpool Cool-Line. May I help

Woman: It's my Whirlpool garbage disposer. I really broke

Consultant: The Cool-Line service can solve most problems right over the phone. Now what happened?

Woman: I've had this disposer for five years. It's taken everything. Skins, cores ... even my son's plastic car.

Consultant: We'don't advise...

Woman: It was a mistake. But even my Whirlpool disposer couldn't handle what I dropped in today.

Consultant: I hesitate to ask.

Woman: You know the metal band that holds the top of a sack of potatoes together?

Consultant: Fell in. huh?

Consultant: I'll be very happy to give you the name of a Whirlpool franchised Tech-Care* service representative. But before you call, let's try one do-it-yourself trick.

Woman: Trick?

Consultant: Under your sink, on the bottom of the disposer, there's a little red button marked "reset." Give it a couple of pushes.

Woman: Why?

Consultant: It's a safety device we build into every continuous feed Whirlpool disposer. It keeps the unit from burning out if it should ever jam. And it helps prevent blowing a fuse. Now push it and try the disposer again.

Woman: It works! You made my day.

Consultant: Happy to do it. If you have questions about any Whirlpool appliance, just call our Cool-Line service. Woman: Better believe it.

> This is the kind of two-way communication we've been having on our Whirlpool Cool-Line service for the past eleven years. It's just one example of the continuing concern we have for customers who purchase quality Whirlpool appliances. If you ever have a question or problem

with your Whirlpool appliance, call our toll-free 24-hour Cool-Line service at 800-253-1301. In Alaska and Hawaii, the number is 800-253-1121. In Michigan, call 800-632-2243

Whirlpool Quality. Our way of life.



People



Adjani prepares for Dumas fils

Off camera, Isabelle Adiani is a tough, no-nonsense Frenchwoman who regards acting as an art of deception. "fake all the time." But on camera, she is developing a persona as a romantic heroine. As Victor Hugo's tragic, lovestruck daughter in The Story of Adèle H., she won an Oscar nomination. In her latest role, Adjani, 23, plays Emily Brontë, author of Wuthering Heights. After resting up in the languorous countryside of Provence, she plans to tackle vet another demanding role: Marguerite, a jilted lover, in a movie based on La Dame aux Camélias by Alexandre Dumas fils. For a star drawn to literary roles, Adjani is surprisingly reticent about her career. "Life is worth being lived," she shrugs, "but not worth being discussed all the time

This President of the U.S. did not wait until he left the White House to write a block-buster about his Administration. In fact he started work on his memoirs the day he took office, finishing them within a year. Moreover, his aide insist-d, "every word was his own."

Exactly which President is this? Why, he is a character in a forthcoming novel, Good as Gold (Simon & Schuster: \$12.95), in which Joseph Heller does for Washington, D.C., what he did for the military in Catch-22. This time Heller's

hero is Bruce Gold, a Jewish writer from Manhattan's Upper West Side, who hopes to get away from his Portnovesque family to be a "high Government official." even though to do so he may have to get a 'better" wife. "Belle would be O.K. for Labor or Agricul-ture," someone advises Gold, "but not for Secretary of State or Defense." And Gold's aspiration is to follow in the footsteps of Henry Kissinger, even though Gold considers him "an odious shlump" and a "shallow, socialite warmonger Says Heller innocently: "I don't think Kissinger should mind my portrayal. Everyone knows how grateful he is for criticism '

"It's nice to be a beginner in one's 70s," says **Isidor Feinstein Stone**. Izzy closed down his investigative newsletter,



Heller has a new catch

I.F. Stone's Biweekly, in 1971 after a 19-year run, and has turned to a new career: translating ancient Greek. Although his formal training was only a single semester of Greek more than 50 years ago at the University of Pennsylvania, he has translated a number of poems, five of which appear in the current issue of the New York Review of Books. He also reads Greek history in the original. "It's trying to dig out the truth from ancient documents the way I used to dig them out of the Pentagon," says Stone So excited is he about his new endeavor that he has lectured about it on the college circuit. At Berkeley, he called himself 'a recycled freshman in an-

He was an alcoholic author, a chronicler of middleclass American life in books like Main Street and Babbitt. She was a foreign correspondent. They married in 1928, Sinclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompson, and soon found that their temperaments didn't mix. Now the story of their stormy relationship will be told in Strangers, opening March 4 on Broadway. "Thompson was a great, great force in American life and, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, the most successful woman in the U.S. says Lois Nettleton, who will

play the challenging role. Lewis too was a "monimental person," says Actor Bruce Dern, who is returning to Broadway after nearly two decades on TV and in films (Coming Home). "Lewis accepted the Nobel Prize at age 45, spent the rest of his life trying to live up to that prize, and it finally broke him."

Need a hired hand in Florida Dial the Capitol in Tallahassee. Newly inaugurated Governor Robert Graham just took in \$24 for an eight-hour day laying sed. "It's good for you psychologically. It cleans you psychologically. It cleans with." says Graham. 42, who literally worked his way into office by spending 100 days of



Governor Graham slings sod

his campaign at odd jobs. Among them: scrubbing bedpans, covering a police beat. hefting fertilizer and tuning Toyotas. The idea was to "get in touch with the people" (and perhaps make voters forget his roots as a millionaire South Florida cattle baron). Now that he is in the Governor's mansion, Graham still plans to spend one day a month moonlighting. On his job list: court bailiff, political reporter and phone staffer with the state's consumer complaint bureau.

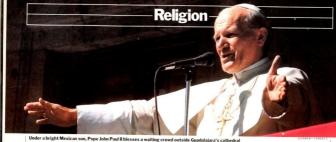
On the Record

Betsy Cronkite, wife of CBS-TV Anchorman Walter: "Sometimes, if we have an evening home, we're likely to sit here with a tray and watch straight through. like Mr. Average Man, all the dumb shows."

Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, after taking a nasty spill on the ski slopes: "We British ski on."

Eugene McCarthy, former Senator and now author: "The only thing that saves us from the bureaucracy is inefficiency. An efficient bureaucracy is the greatest threat to liberty."

Nellie Connally, John's wife, on her husband's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination: "I don't mind sharing John with the state or the country, but I don't wanna give him away."



John Paul vs. Liberation Theology

In Latin America, the Pope deplores Marxist influences

S een from the airplane above, all of to him about the girl, he whirled around Mexico City winked and sparkled as and waded into the mob to find her. He thousands of people caught afternoon sunlight in tiny mirrors and flashed a farewell up to Pope John Paul II. It was a showy, yet fond ending to a spectacular seven-day tour. And it reflected not only the depth of religious feeling that has survived a 120-year attempt to secularize Mexico, but the popular impact of the Pope's good-natured and forceful personality. "It was the greatest success any foreign leader has ever scored in Mexico." a local journalist noted. Besides being a public relations coup, the tour had had its substantive side. For it was the occasion of John Paul's first major policy speech, on the agonizing question of Christianity and social revolution

The turnout of Mexicans intent on seeing the Pope in person defied counting. Many millions greeted him at mo-

torcades, Masses. vals. Much of his 81-mile route from Mexico City to Puebla lay through a valley of humanity that lined the road, including the aged and the sick who came in hope of a cure.

Through an exhausting schedule that took him more than 15,000 miles to the Dominican Republic. Mexico and the Bahamas. the Pope proved ever willing to run late in order to make time for people. Near the Guadalajara Cathedral, a crippled teenage girl waited in hopes of meeting John Paul, but he did not see her at first in the press of the crowd. When someone whispered

never did

Wherever he went, the Pope was greeted with showers of confetti, fireworks, floating balloons, flocks of white doves and plenty of overzealous rhetoric. In Puebla, an excited priest, warming up the gigantic crowd assembled at a soccer field, referred to the Pope as "John the Baptist, Christ in the flesh, and the new Moses " Near Oaxaca, in the heart of Mexico's largest concentration of traditional Indian culture, John Paul sat atop a massive dais as women performed a stately dance and men wearing giant white clown masks stomped about. Everywhere, street peddlers hawked papal photos or T shirts with the papal portrait.

The Pope had come to Mexico to address the third continent-wide meeting of Latin American bishops and urge a carefully balanced commitment to both spiritual and social goals. The bishops' meeting at Puebla is discussing church strategy in Latin America, where oppressive regimes and desperate poverty abound. In consequence, many priests have turned to "liberation theology" and revolutionary Marxist thinking. In their view, work for social and economic revolution is central to the church's task

In the chapel of the Palafox Seminary, before an audience of bishops, 6,500 miles from St. Peter's, John Paul delivered a 5.000-word speech that may mark the entire course of his papacy. The text was designed to strip away any ambiguity over future papal social policy. From Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum (1891) to John XXIII's Mater et Magistra (1961), papal encyclicals have rejected both the "unregulated competition" of laissez-faire capitalism and Marxism's class struggle with its elimination of private property. However, in his 1967 encyclical Populorum Progressio. Paul VI allowed for revolutions in extreme cases and thus left the door open to liberation theology.

John Paul, who rose to eminence in Communist Poland, made clear his urgent desire to eliminate priestly activism based upon Marxist dogma. The Pope emphatically rejected liberation theology. without ever using that phrase. Repeatedly emphasizing the value of each person before God. and the need for spiritual freedom, he used the term liberation in a Christianized context. To the Pope, atheistic humanism holds out to mankind only a half liberation, because it bases everything on economic determinism and ignores spiritual dynamics. The result, he said, is



"The greatest success any foreign leader has ever scored



that man's very being is "reduced in the worst way." Today, he said, "human values are trampled on as never before." Implicit in his statements was a basic judgment: the tacties of Marxist revolution, based as they are on class conflict, violate the most profound Christian teaching.

n one passage heavy with theological significance, he rejected efforts by modern radicals to view Jesus Christ as a political Messiah. "People claim to show Jesus as politically committed, as one who fought against Roman oppression and the authorities and also as one involved in the class struggle," said the Pope, "This idea of Christ as a political figure, a revolutionary, as the subversive man from Nazareth, does not tally with the church's catechesis." The Gospel and the church, he preached, must transcend all political ideologies. But while the church's mission is "not social or political," the church "cannot fail to consider man in the entirety of his being." In particular, Christians must seek a "more just and equitable distribution of goods, not only within each nation but also in the

world in general." He made a detailed statement against violations of human rights, as he has done previously. Before the Indian audience in Oaxaca, he uttered a fervent plea for economic justice and redistribution of land. Attacking "the powerful-rich classes who often leave untilled the lands in which lay hidden the bread that many families need," John Paul cried: "It is not just, it is not human, it is not Christian." At Monterrey, he defended laborers' right to organize and protect their obvious reference to the wetbacks who head for the U.S., he stated, "We cannot close our eyes to the plight of millions of men who abandon their homelands, and often their families, in search of work with no social security and miserable wages."

The pivotal issue in the Pope's speech was one of tactics. John Paul believes more rights can be gained for the oppressed through moral education than by agitation and revolution. Said the: "Whatever the miseries or sufferings that afflict man, it is not through violence, the interplay of power, and political systems, but through the truth concerning man.

that he journeys toward a better future." The Puebla address drew careful limits on priestly activism. It emphasized that political work is largely the task of the laity. In other speeches, the Pope warned a meeting of nuns against secularizing their mission, and told a large gathering of the clergy. "Be priests, not social workers or political leaders or functionaries of a temporal power."

Many progressive Catholics found this approach unsatisfactory. Some Latin

m) within this approach unsatisfactory, Sofie Latin | politic respons

obvious reference to the "It is not just, it is not human, it is not Christian"

American militants were upset that the Pope made only indirect attacks on rightwing regimes that have been harassing and murdering activist priests. One bashcould That because of this omiscould that the because of this omisothers to possible martyrdom. Another bishop said that dictatorships will mow use the Pope's words as an excuse to repress the Pope's words as an excuse to repress all social action by priests and nurs.

Other critics contended that the call for evangleism was naive. Worde Manuel Stephens Garcia, noted Mexico City por litical columnist: "When you speak of revolution, the problem of harted and vise meeting that the problem of the pr

The key liberation-theology strategists who were observing the Puebla meeting assumed a low profile. They issued no public response to the Pope and pursued

behind-the-scenes politicking among friendly bishops from Brazil and elsewhere. The bishops meeting will run until Feb. 13, and the progressive bishops hope to wring from it an explicit condemnation of right-wing "national security" tactics and capitalist exploitation. They may succeed. Liberation theologians also want endorsement for church latitude in their continued pursuit of activism and Marxist-influenced theologizing. Whatever the bishops decide. the topics are certain to be hotly debated, not merely at this meeting but for decades to come

Living

Paris Fashions Go to Peking

With Cardin's couture, a Great Leap Sexward

\$\int \text{is not something they lalk about openly in China. Nor do they dress with it in mind. The country's slim, trim women wear no perfume, jewelry, mail polish, or shadow on their almond eyes, for the most part, they murch around in the polish or shadow on their almond eyes. While carly marriage is discouraged from are urged to wait until they are at least \$2. \text{ women 25}, the People's Republic frowns equally on premarial amour, and cleaning to defose dailance.

But wait! Things are changing. Thirty years after its Communist revolution. China may now be ready for the sexual revolution. If so, historians will undoubtedly hail an unreconstructed capitalist as point man in the Great Leap Sexward. The man, naturellement, is Pierre Cardin.

Designer Cardin at 56 has attached his name to practical fantasies that can be worn, walked on, slept in, sat upon, munched, drunk, flown, pedaled or driven in 69 countries. His latest coup is an

Knife-pleated gown with thigh-high slit



agreement to serve as exclusive consultant to China's embryonic fashion industry. The Parisian may have his haute conture models reproduced in China, where the workmanship is exquisite and cheap, creating a new export trade for the Middle Kingdom. If the contract works out, 10% of Cardin-Cathay will be reserved for sale inside China, which is probably wise, considering the fact that in France even a



Red coat with padded "pagoda" shoulders

readymade Cardin frock sells for at least \$200, as much as the average Chinese worker's income for about seven months. Nevertheless, the clothes to be shown

in China will differ not a whit from the 200 designs paraded last week for Western buyers and fashion reporters at L'Espace Cardin in Paris. The collection, to be displayed in its

The collection, to be displayed in its entirety next month in Peking and Shang-



Evening dress that enfolds body like a cocoo

hai, ranges from garments with thighhigh slits and see-through torsos to dresses and coats with overstuffed "pagoda" shoulders and gold kimono jackets worn over tight silk pants. The designer, who has spent four years plotting the Cardinization of Cathay, makes abundant use of the country's magnificent silks and cashmeres but yields nothing to Maonotony, "Vroom!" he cries, "It's the shock that will be interesting. Why should I copy Mao collars when what they want is dresses from Paris? The Chinese have lost their suspicion, and dream of giving their clothes a Western image that will set China at the level of other nations.

That level already exists-at some altitudes. Cho Lin. Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing's wife, changed from one dazzling ensemble to another during her U.S. visit last week. Many Chinese panjandrums wear silken tunics that barely bow to Mao. Sumptuousness, after all, is not exactly new to the people who created such marvels as the Ming Tombs and the Forbidden City. After decades of isolation and unisex, it is not too surprising that the Chinese should again aspire to elegance, or seek it from Paris, where some of their leaders were educated. As for Cardin: "When I was 20, a fortune teller told me that my name would be on all the walls of the cities of the world." Now. the Great Wall?

'I didn't sacrifice great flavor to get low tar.

"The first thing I expect from a cigarette is flavor. And satisfaction. Finding that in a low-tar smoke wasn't easy. "But then I tried Vantage, Frankly, I didn't even know Vantage was low in tar. Not until I looked at the numbers. That's because the taste was so remarkable it stood up to anything I'd ever smoked.

"For me, switching to

Vantage was an easy move to make. I didn't have to sacrifice a thing."

VANTAGE

Vantage

Regular, Menthol and Vantage 100's.

FILTER 100's: 10 mg, "tar", 0.8 mg, nicotine, FILTER, MENTHOL: 11 mg. "tar", 0.8 mg. nicotine, av. per cigarette, FTC Report MAY '78

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

Sport

Steve's Slump

Cauthen loses 110 in a row

The fourth race at Santa Anita was for four-year-old horses that have never won, otherwise known as "maidens." The purse was \$13,000, the crowd sparse and the Southern California weather mucky. The winner by a neck: a 5-to-2 shot named Father Duffy.

Not exactly the Triple Crown. But for the winning jockey it meant deliverance. When he climbed aboard Father Duffy last Thursday, Boy Wonder Stewe Cauthen. 18, winner of the Triple Crown and just under S6 million last year, had not just under S6 million last year. And not just under S6 million last year, had not just under S6 million last year. Ho lower just with the worst ever for a major jockey, was a stupefying slump for The Kid who once won 23 of 54 races in a single won.

Rumors blamed Cauthen's woes on the distractions of fame and California women. But Cauthen's ex-agent Lenny Goodman dismissed the gossip and accused California trainers of sticking Stevie with slow horses: "I could not give him the horses I wanted him to ride. They gave me leftovers." The bettors agree: Cauthen rode only ten favorites during his winless streak. Explained Trainer Joseph Trovato: "Trainers have their own commitments. It's hard to break into that if you're an outsider." Frustrated, Goodman packed up and left for New York two weeks ago: Cauthen, who began his association with Goodman 21/2 years ago. is now on his third agent.

Last week came the biggest blow-Trainer Laz Barrera pulled Cauthen off Affirmed, the horse he rode to the Triple Crown last year. Horsemen do not show slumping jockeys quite the paternal support that Leo Durocher, manager of the old New York Giants, gave a weeping



A dejected Steve Cauthen after losing in the mud at Santa Anita
"You know what race-track people do fastest? Bury others."

rookie named Willie Mays after he had gone I for 26 in his major league debut ("Tomorrow's another day, kid, and you're going to be playing centerfield to-morrow"). Barrera said the decision not to let Cauthen fide Affirmed in the \$200,000 Strub Stakes was "one of my hard-est." But he earlier confessed, "You know what race-track people do fastest? Buty others." Still, it was Barrera who put Cauthen on Father Duffy, and gave The Kid the chance to break his losing streak.

A poised hero during his glory days, Cauthen was clearly shaken. "No matter if you have the greatest team in the world." he said, "you lplay) out of town sometimes, and you get beat by the local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got to dig in and get local yokes. I've his got of the said is a lat 13 to heighten his concentrations of your earlier he was flailing at hay bales to improve his whip technique. But simple

cures are often hard to find for slumping athletes. Cauthen, however, does not appear to have picked up any bad technical habits. "He's not doing anything different," growls Barrera. Nor is growth the problem: Cauthen is less than an inch taller than he was when he won the Triple Crown, and he weighs only 104. Some have suggested that after Goodman had a heart attack in July, he stopped hustling for good mounts; and that after Cauthen injured his knee in an August spill, he stopped trying so hard to spur them on. Now Laffit Pincay Jr., the rider who replaced Cauthen on Affirmed for the Strub Stakes, wonders if The Kid is not "trying too hard."

To get hot again, Cauthen may need to regain his almost mystical touch, the energy he seemed to communicate to horses through his skilled oversize hands. Then again, ex-Agent Goodman may have the best prescription: "Fast horses."

Milestones

BORN. To Yevgeny Yevtushenko, 45, Soviet poet, and Jan Butler, 26, her husband's assistant and translator: their first child; in Bournemouth. England. Name: Alexander. Yevushenko has no natural children from his two previous marriages, though he has one adopted son.

MARRIED, Joseph P. Kennedy II, 26, eldest son of Ethel Kennedy and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy; and Sheila Brewster Rauch, 29, daughter of the chairman of the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society; both for the first time; in Gladwyne, Pa.

DIVORCED. Mia Farrow, 33, pixyish actress (Rosemary's Baby, The Great Gatsby); and Andre Previn, 49, composer, conductor and currently music director of the Pittsburgh Symphony; after eight years of marriage.

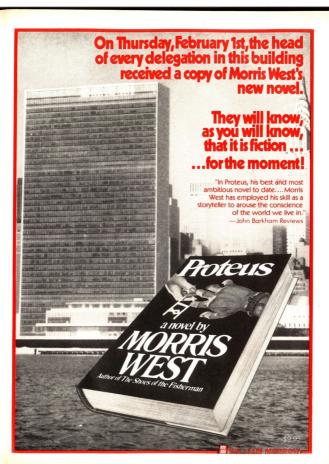
six children (three adopted); in Santo Domingo.

DIED. John Simon Ritchie, 21. English punkrock musician better known as Sid Vicious of the notorious, now dishanded Sex Pistols group; of a heroin overdose, one day after being released on bail from prison, where he was awaiting trial for the October murder of his girlfriend. Nancy Spungen, 20; in Manhattan

DIED. Victoria Ocampo, 88. Argentina's "Queen of Letters" for nearly half a century: in Buenos Aires. Educated in Europe. Ocampo in 1931 founded Sur. an avant-garde Spanish literary magazine that introduced to her countrymen such established foreign authors as Shaw, Faulkner. Sartre and Camus as well as

South American writers like Jorge Luis Borges and Gabriela Mistral. Jailed briefly in 1953 for speaking out against the Perón regime, Essayist-Translator Ocampo continued to edit and finance the magazine throughout her 80s.

DIED. Malcolm Mulr, 93. founder of Business Week and longtime executive of Newsweek; in Manhattan. As president of Newsweek; in Manhattan. As president of 1929 helped create Business Week, and in 1937 joined News-Week as its president. He changed the four-year-old magnaines name to Newsweek, emphasized actions multiple of the Newsweek and the state of the Newsweek and the Newsweek introduced signed columns and introduced signed columns and introduced to the Newsweek and the New



Cinema

Adrift in a Winter Wonderland

QUINTET Directed by Robert Altman

Screenplay by Frank Barhydt, Robert Altman and Patricia Resnick

a first Robert Altman's new film looks dike a baffing silee of metaphysical sci-fi—a sort of 2001 at Marienbad. Weirdly costumed characters with names like Essex and Ambrosia wander around a frozen nameless city mumbling about the Apocalypse. Packs of vicious dogsappear in secene after snowy scene to gnaw on abandoned human corpses. The number frie turns up everywhere: people wear five-sided brats, speak of a five-sided winverse and play a five-sided brat grame called Quintet. What is going on? Is that rascal Altman is going on? Is that rascal Altman

ciphered, is even more tired than its ideas, Quinter is built around a vintage sci-fi gambit that only a few years ago turned up in an excertable action movie, Rollerball. Here again, we are in the midst of a futuristic society that worships a deadby game with indecipherable rules Quinet appears to be a shotgun marriage bect appears to be a shotgun marriage to cappears to be a shotgun marriage to cappear to be cappear to the becomes its bloodied victim. Yet the plot is so familiar that the audience figures out the moves at least an hour before the characters do. By the time the

Is going the firm of the firm

Paul Newman and Brigitte Fossey brave the elements in Quintet
Foursquare in favor of life over death, love over hate, free will over fate.

About halfway through the movie. one begins to wish he were. The point of Quintet, it becomes painfully clear, is not nearly so obscure or weighty or downbeat as the director would have us believe. Altman is coming out foursquare in favor of life over death, love over hate, free will over fate. Though such optimistic feelings are admirable, there is no legitimate reason to cloak them in the arty mannerisms of yesteryear's avant-garde. Quintet has more highfalutin dialogue, pregnant pauses and overbearing symbols than the collected works of Maxwell Anderson: it has roughly as much content as a routine fortune cookie

The film's story, once it can be de-

inevitable climax finally arrives, most moviegoers may wish they had stayed at home to watch a truly exciting sport —like, say, The \$20,000 Pyramid.

Quinter's tedium is in no way relieved by Altman's film-making technique. In place of his usual brio, the director has usued pretentious cinematic gimmicks, monochromatic sets and portentous, dissonant music. He reduces an all-star natural cast—Newman. Fernando Rey, Bist Andersson, Vittorio Gasmina guidante de la proper del proper de la proper del proper de la proper

witless lines amount to paint-by-number existentialism: "Every time you cheat death, you feel the pure thrill of life." Quintet's grave tone notwithstanding, the dialogue is often so uplifting and epigrammatic that it could almost be set to a Richard Rodgers score.

None of this would be so upsetting were Altman not one of the few great directors in modern American film. Ouintet seems a sad rejection of all the artistic instincts that have fueled his best movies. In the past Altman has let art flow from life: he has allowed his characters to operate spontaneously and then permitted his films' meanings to grow out of the crazy-quilt action. This time around he has done the reverse. The characters are constricted by a trite, preconceived moral and soon become inanimate pawns in a pseudointellectual shell game. Quintet is designed to stimulate superficial cocktail party chatter rather than to provoke an audience's hearts or minds. Altman has toyed with this method once before in the disastrous denouement of the otherwise vivid 3 Women, but he has never let such pedantry overwhelm an entire movie. The results seem not only silly but insincere. For all the soppy lip service Altman pays to life, his film never attempts to arise from the slumber of the dead. - Frank Rich

La Différence

THE INNOCENT

Directed by Luchino Visconti Screenplay by Susi Cecchi D'Amico, Enrico Medioli and Luchino Visconti

WIFEMISTRESS Directed by Marco Vicario Screenplay by Rodolfo Sonego

aura Antonelli's cold beauty is on view
—every single square centimeter of it
—in two opulent and languidy erotic Italian films just released in the US. Curiously enough, not only does each production star Antonelli, but each is a turn-of-the-century costume drama dealing interest of the content of a phlan-tonically with the torment of a phlan-tonically with the torment of a phlan-tonically with the sammes to be hopelessly frigid.

Naturally, given these similarities, the differences between the films that are most interesting.

The Innocent is a beautifully made melodrama, whose elaborate and operatic moral dilemmas turn on issues that are curiosities today. It is the last film of the late director Luchino Visconti (The Dammed, Death in Ventice). The Innocent is taken from an 1892 novel by the flambourned of the late of the late



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Aword to smokers

(about nonsmokers and anti-smokers)

In the expressive jargon of jazz, a lot of folks are "into" segregation these days—for smokers.

If you've ridden any planes lately, you've found yourself banished to the back of them, last to be served, last to leave.

Here on the ground there's a sudden sprouting of "No Smoking' signs. And if, by mistake, you happen to light up in the wrong place, you get a sharp reminder, annoved frown or cold shoulder.

When that happens, it's easy to get the feeling you're being picked on, and made to feel like a social outcast.

But there's another side to

In Seattle some time ago, two restaurants tried segregation — an area for nonsmokers.

After a month, one had served 9,389 meals in the smoking side, and only 21 in the nonsmoker side. In the other, of 17,421 customers, only 23 asked to be segregated from the smokers.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined

That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health

The point is that most nonsmokers think smokers are O.K. and they like to be around us when the choice is left up to them.

So take heart.

That doesn't mean that the tiny minority of anti-snokers are going to go away. They won't. Some of them have very sensible reasons for objecting, Smoke bothers them. And a discourteous smoker bothers them as much as the bothers us smokers. And then there are people, perfectly rational about everything else, who turn kind of paranoid when a smoker approaches.

We don't know what to do about these anti-smokers any more than you do—except to treat them all with the courtesy and kindness we deserve from them.

It works with our friends, the nonsmokers; it may also work with the anti-smokers.

THE TOBACCO INSTITUTE 1776 K St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Freedom of choice is the best choice.



exactly the right touch of smoldering arrogance by Giancarlo Giannini, Lina Wertmuller's man of all movies, has long since transferred his sexual interest from his exquisite wife Giuliana to his mistress, a fiery countess named Teresa (Jennifer O'Neill). Tullio tells Giuliana that he loves her as he would a sister, but that his passion belongs to Teresa.

Giuliana's response is a period of gloom and fainting spells, followed by a livelier period of vigorous lovemaking with a handsome young novelst. Tullio dallies with his mistress, erring with her on fur in one fireside scene the lavishness of which approaches parody. But when the final break is at hand, he discovers that it is Giuliana who fiscinates him. He elest Teresa rumble off to Paris by herself



Giannini and Antonelli in The Innocent Every square centimeter of beauty.

and forgives Giuliana, admitting that she has as much right as he to a lover. Since the novelist has by this time died of a tropical disease picked up on an African journey, the reconciliation of Tullio and Giuliana would seem complete.

Alas, she is pregnant by the dead writer. This Tullio's fatal male honor cannot stand, and when a son is born to Giuliana he exposes the baby to cold winter air and allows him to die. Then, after a moody conversation with his mistress, he shoots himself through the heart. Teresa, dressed appropriately in a black gown—though no one was dead when she put to m—walks unsympathetically past his body and away from the camera. She stops motionless in the middle distance, an el-

motionless in the middle distance, an elegant figure on a path framed by trees, as the credits roll by. It is a beautiful last shot, with a stillness that suggests an old postcard. Its accurate message is that the figures, their world and everything once considered important are withered and gone.

Wifemistress is several shades less sol-

TIME, FEBRUARY 12, 1979

emn. Its structure in fact is that of a sex farce, though its tone is more appropriate to a sentimental comedy. The disparity may arise because Director Marco Vicario (Homo Eroticus) can't quite manage the French trick of finding cuckoldry hilarious. The situation, at any rate, is satisfactorily ridiculous. Luigi (Marcello Mastroianni) is a wealthy wine merchant, an idealist and a writer of tracts on the equality of women. He is also a great philanderer, with mistresses and bastard children all around Italy. But what has that to do with idealism'

When he is wrongly suspected of murder, he hides from the police in a loft across the street from his own mansion. Through a crack in a shutter, he can look directly into the bedroom of his wife Antonia, a lovely, pale, sexless creature (Antonelli again) who suffers from hysterical paralysis. What does he see? Antonia bounds out of bed and, thinking that her husband is dead, brayely undertakes to continue his wine business. As she does this, she discovers both his idealism and his mistresses, neither of which she knew of before. She takes up sex and namphleteering, and soon, under Luigi's flabbergasted eyes, is rolling about with an assortment of lovers, male and female

This is amusing, but not howlingly funny. A couple of reasons suggest themselves. One is that Antonelli has none of the fire in her eyes that might be expected of a revenge-bound wife in a farce. She plays her scenes as if they were high drama. Another is that Mastrojanni, though not quite so sober, lets us see too much of the pain that an actual man would feel under such circumstances.

Even so. Wifemistress is thoroughly likable. The exterior photography is magnificent. The sex scenes are both tasteful and warmly sensual, as is not always the case with flicks whose directors feel obliged to show a little skin. A note here about skin: as a woman viewer of both these films justly and aggrievedly noted, "They always show more of her than they do of him." The double standard marches on. John Skow

Stir Frv

Directed by Raphael D. Silver Screenplay by Malcolm Braly

his low-budget prison film makes several promising gestures in the direction of documentary honesty before giving up and turning slick. The result is mildly enjoyable and instantly forgettable. The narrative deals with the downfall of a boss con named Chilly (Thomas Waites), who runs a bookmaking operation and most of the other illicit action in the prison yard. He is a short, cocky fellow of 24 who keeps the other cons and a good many of the guards in line with brains and nerve, backed up by occasional knifings done by his chicano enforcer. Gasolino (Hector Troy). Chilly's boast,

Aword to nonsmokers

(about smokers)

A great jazz musician once said of his art, "If you don't understand it, I can't explain it.'

That's the way it is with smoking.

If you've never smoked, it just looks puzzling - the whole ritual of lighting, puffing. What's the point?

There's really no way to explain it.

We've all heard from the people who think the 60 million American smokers ought to be, like you, nonsmokers. But even those people know there's something going on that smokers like.

Maybe that's the key to the whole tobacco thing from the beginning. It's a small ritual that welcomes strangers, provides companionship in solitude, fills "empty" time, marks the significance of certain occasions and expresses personal style.

For some people. And by personal choice, not for you. That's the way it ought to be. Whether your preference is carrot juice or bottled water, beach buggies or foreign cars, tobacco smoking or chewing gum or none of the above. Personal style.

What we're saving is that, like jazz or chamber music, some people like it and some don't.

And most of you nonsmokers understand that. It would be a dull world if everybody liked the same things.

The trouble is that some people (anti-smokers, as distinguished from nonsmokers) don't like those who march to the sound of the different drummer, and want to harass smokers and if possible, to separate them from your company in just about everything.

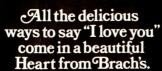
And the further trouble is that even the tolerant nonsmokers, and that's most of you, are honestly annoyed by the occasional sniff of tobacco smoke that's a little too pervasive.

It annoys us smokers equally. But it would be a shame if we allowed a tiny handful of intolerant anti-smokers, and a small group of discourteous smokers, to break up the enjoyable harmony we find in each other's personal style.

Maybe if we ignore them both, they'll go away and leave the rest of us to go on playing together.

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Cinema

which he is intelligent enough to see as a hollow one, is that he has run every prison he has been in since he was 14. He has a loser's pride in his reputation; he keeps his word and enforces his rules.

A new guard captain sets out to breast. Khilly's power in order to establish his own rule. In the conflict, both Gasolino and a con named Juleson (John Heard) die as: Chilly struggles to hang on. Juleson scharacteristanto is interesting; he is a quief, fairly bright middle-class wife killer who deesn't it in the underclass prison society. One of the better scene takes on society. One of the better scene takes the other cost most of them actually inmates at the Rockview State Correctional Facility in Pennsylvania, where the film



John Heard in On the Yard The boast is hollow.

was shot) goad Juleson into talking about his wife.

The film is visually convincing; the faces are those of defeated men, and Rockview's cells and exercise yard are appropriately bleak. Brutality by guards is dealt with, but gingerly, and the coercive homosexuality in prisons is simply ignored, as is tension between black and white inmates. Realism fails partly be-cause some of the principal characters, Chilly among them, are made a bit too likable by the story's occasional tendency to break down into bad guy-good guy situations. But the most important lapse is simply that the workings of the plot, which involves a not very believable escape, make life on the yard too lively. Dullness and indifference are the realities of prison, but these, of course, are poor ingredients for a movie. 15

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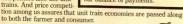


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Music

Good Rocking in Store

Two TV shows take on 25 years of R'n' R

S hapes up like a wild weekend. On Friday, Feb. 9, ABC will lavish two of its primest hours on a high-velocity history of rock 'n' roll from way back then to right now. Two days later, the same network will devote most of its Sunday-night schedule to a dramatic biography of Elvis Presley. The show portrays the first -and maybe still the greatest-of the epic rockers with a dash of eccentric imagination and a large portion of compassion. ABC has high hopes that its weekend of rock will pile up Nielsen points during the February "sweeps" period, and that is some-

thing of a signal. Rock 'n' roll, roughly 25 years old, has endured, mutated and flourished. Only one thing has changed. Rock started as rebel music. It has been big business for years. This weekend is a reminder that it has slipped smoothly into the cultural mainstream

Heroes of Rock 'n' Roll, a time capsule of peak moments and joyous traditions, is also a first-rate primer of rock history. Malcolm Leo and Andrew Solt, who produced, directed and co-wrote the show, pay particular attention to getting the roots-in country and rhythm and blues right. Before they talk about Buddy Holly, they show Hank Williams, Elvis storms on only after due notice has been paid to Chuck Berry, Little Richard, Muddy Waters and Ray Charles. To underscore the point, and to illustrate how threatening this music once seemed. Leo and Solt include some footage of angry parents, disc jockeys breaking rock records. and assorted other representatives of a concerned older generation, including a member of the segregationist White Citizens' Council, denouncing the music with considerable heat.

Trouble was, they could never match the heat of the performers. He- A blast from the past: Kurt Russell rips it up in Elvis! smarmy nostalgia. What is so star-

tling is that the early rockers come on as strong now as they ever did. Berry, doing a mean strut and split to Sweet Little Sixteen; Jerry Lee Lewis, ripping through a typically delirious rendition of Whole Lotta Shakin' Going On; Holly, singing Peggy Sue straight into the TV camera as if he wanted to short out the cathode-ray tubes: nothing cute, quaint or antique about any of this

The footage that covers the early years is rare (some of it never seen before) and so red-hot that subsequent performers run the risk of coming off like contestants in a charade contest. Dylan, the Stones, the

Beatles, the Who all carry the weight of tradition with ease. But Elton John, performing in concert, sounds as if he's singing in a record-your-voice booth; Janis Joplin, desperate to please, sings blues with the synthetic soul of a Broadway belter; Linda Ronstadt's coy version of a great Jagger-Richards tune might more appropriately be retitled Fumbling Dice. Thoughts of decadence and decline oc-



roes of Rock 'n' Roll is no exercise in High-velocity history and sympathetic biography.

cur; Donna Summer appears. But then Jimmy Cliff shows up, singing The Harder They Come, and the balance is redressed. By the time the show ends, with a flourish from Elvis Costello and a blast from Bruce Springsteen, you know the future is in good hands.

Easy enough to pick a quarrel with a show like Heroes of Rock 'n' Roll: Where are Sam Cooke and the Drifters? Why not Van Morrison, Jackson Browne and Creedence Clearwater Revival? But the show gets all the major points straight and covers a lot of territory without stinting on either energy or spirit. Heroes will also be an eye-opener for kids whose idea of the '50s is a lot of chorus boys in blackleather jackets. For those with longer memories, this is less an occasion for reminiscence than for celebration.

The long shadow across Heroes of Rock 'n' Roll, of course, is Elvis Presley. He gets a whole segment to himself, which includes his first Hollywood screen test. an appearance on the Milton Berle show and the great title number from Jailhouse Rock. In Elvis!, directed by John Carpenter and written by Anthony Lawrence. he is also treated well but the shadows deepen even further. He becomes the classic figure of American success: famous.

frightened and mother-fixated. The movie catches Presley's suicidal insulation, the shifts of mood and all his uncertainty, manages to make his success seem ultimately stultifying without ever inviting pity. Just as important, he is not treated either as a cultural icon or as some sort of bloated, junked-up superstar, but simply as he was, a great singer whose life grew beyond him, and out of control

The movie sets itself a lot of tough marks, especially since the film makers, anticipating sticky negotiations. did not try for the rights to any Presley vocals. However, the singing by Ronnie McDowell is gilt-edge counterfeit, Elvis' sound carefully shaped and reduplicated by Felton Jarvis. Presley's own producer at RCA There is also a starring performance that is quite literally phenomenal. Kurt Russell, a former minor-league baseball player who has done most of his acting on TV and in obscure Disney features, does not attempt an Elvis impersonation, although he moves with gymnastic ease and curves his lip well. Russell plunges deeply into Presley's psyche, bringing all the talent and all the obsession right to the surface. He and Director Carpenter contrive an introduction that eerily sets the tone of the movie and fixes their subject all at once: his shadow deep on a white wall. Presley sits alone in a dark Las Vegas hotel room, dressed all in black.

watching television from behind dark shades, waiting for the night and his first show. It's good drama and good rock 'n'

Both shows are a reminder of how deeply rock has penetrated and modified American popular culture. At the core of the vast rock audience is still the generation that first heard the music, that danced to it, changed with it, married to it, and died to it in Viet Nam: a generation that has never outgrown, will never outgrow the music. A group called the Showmen said it best, and most simply. in a tune that Heroes uses as a theme: "It Will Stand.

Economy & Business

Now It Is "Yankee, Don't Go!"

Europe's new worry is that U.S. firms are cutting back



Belgian workers at RCA semiconductor plant outside Liège protesting company's decision to shut down facility because of high costs

"Fifteen years from now, it is quite possible that the third industrial power just after the United States and Russia will not be Europe but American industry in

hen he made that famous force cash in The American Challenge and pop conomist Jean-Jacques Servan-Schrieber voice da familiar Euro-Servan-Schrieber voice da familiar Euro-Servan-Schrieber voice da familiar Euro-Wester Europe and marketing prowess, was rapidly turning western Europe into a sort of American commercial romper room. So much for that worty What mow seems to rouse Euro-Western Europe into a sort of American Commercial tomper room. So much for that worty What mow seems to rouse Euro-Western Europe in the prospect of a disruptive retreats.

Though many U.S. companies have in fact been quietly cutting back their European operations for some years, the specter of a wholesale pullout was not raised until last summer. Then, Chryslet in the proper of the

Indeed, the Chrysler pullout has been followed by a tattoo of smaller but no-less-widely reported U.S. retrenchments. Two weeks ago, employees at an RCA semi-conductor plant employing 438 workers

near Liège, Belgium, began picketing with placards attacking the company-not for being part of the American challenge but for deciding to leave. Faced with rising costs, RCA decided to shut down the plant because it was not competitive with the company's other semiconductor plants. including one in Malaysia. B.F. Goodrich struggling for profits in an overcrowded tire market, closed a West German plant 19 months ago, and is now considering selling all its rubber-making interests in Europe. At ITT's Brussels headquarters, upwards of 60 employees, ranging from secretaries to \$125,000-a-year division chiefs, were axed from the payroll the week before Christmas. The company's European food and cosmetics holdings have been put up for sale.

What is actually happening is not an American bug-out at all, but an on-thescene retrenchment process that European firms are also undergoing. But because the American companies are so large and visible, their pruning is getting much attention. In fact, the U.S. business grim much attention. In fact, the U.S. business grim American firms rang up more than \$220 billion in sales, accounting for fully 10% of all European manufacturing activity.

U.S. firms are scaling back because since the 1974 oil crisis and recession, Europe's economy has been whiplashed by slow growth, sagging sales and fast-rising costs, particularly in labor. Even after inflation is taken into account, hourly wages since 1970 have jumped 61% in Belgium and 70% in Italy; in the U.S., they have increased by only 12%. With the U.S. now

growing faster than Europe, multinational managers have to shave expenses or else risk having their European operations drag down the performance of the parent companies as well. As a result, businessmen are cutting their European costs in several ways:

Chopping Deadwood: More and more firms are getting ind of unprofitable or marginal subsidiaries. In June. General Electric Cas sid its part ownership of Osmanufacturer, to Siemens AG. Beckman Instruments, one of the first US. firms to go into business in West Germany in the 1990s, its clessing its Munich production plant and laying off 300 owners. In Belt-cludes subsidiaries of Westinghouse, W.R. Grace, American Home Products and Farah of Texas.

Sending Home Staff: With the collapse of the dollar, the cost of maintaining U.S. executives in Europe has exploded, and companies are pulling them back. Notes Roger Asselmann, Brussels manager of the Arthur Andersen accounting firm: "Some American executives are collecting \$150,000 annually in various allowances, and for that kind of money, a company could send over an international vice president from the U.S. for ten weeklong trips a year on the Concorde." Sperry-Rand's six-member sales staff in West Germany, once all American, now has four West Germans. The 3M Co.'s 4,000 employees in France include only two American executives

Getting Cheaper Digs: Though few companies are actually returning to the U.S. many firms are pulling out of high-cost areas to relocate elsewhere in Europe. Brussels, which had a very large U.S. corporate population. has been the big-gest loser, and the major beneficiary of the exodus has been Britain. Recent art-heaper and the continuous description of the continuous description. The continuous description include Chevron. Avon. Memoral conductions and the Hercules chemical companion and the Hercules.

For all the cutting, shifting and shuffling, new American investments are being made in Europe all the time. If the new prospects do not always measure up to the blockbuster deals of the 1960s, it is because the big U.S. firms that made them are by now broadly established in Europe. For instance, Ohio's Timken Co. is building an \$8 million distribution center in Düsseldorf to counter Japanese and Eastern European competition in roller bearings. On a much larger scale. Ford is shopping for a site for a new \$450 million assembly plant, and General Motors is planning to expand its European operations as well. Indeed the total book value of U.S. investment in Europe, now over \$60 billion, continues to climb, though not nearly as fast as in the past.

ar from agonizing over this investment as they did in times past, most Luropean governments are now encourage and the second of the second of the While the West Germans have long sought American investment, to the point of sending company-recruiting missions to the U.S., the once xenophobic French with the second of th

Sooner or later, the pace of U.S. investment had to begin slowing. Says Edwin Artzt, manager of Procter & Gamble's \$1 billion European business: "Europe was a fat and attractive market for the U.S. in the postwar years. American companies saw the coming recovery, and they got in quickly while European industry was still getting off the floor. All that has changed now. Inevitably, the surge of the '90s and '60s brought back European industry too."

One sign of that is European industry's own growing stake in the U.S. In the past three years, these investments have risen by 60%, and now total almost \$30 billion. Just two weeks ago, Daimler-Benz announced plans to build a \$6.6 million truck factory in Hampton, Va., continuing a trend that already includes such well-known European firms as Volkswagen, Michelin and Bosch electric. For too long, multinational business was largely the domain of U.S. companies, but the new and sober realities of an anemic dollar coupled with slow growth in many countries outside the U.S. are bringing a balance that is long overdue.

Lines at the Pumps Again?

A threat of fuel curbs and Sunday closings in April if . . .

A bumpy stretch of gasoline shortages and substantially higher prices may well be lurking just around the bend for American motorists. That was the message coming from Washington and the nation's oil industry last week. The threat of scarcities is being raised by the political upheaval in Iran, which has virtually shut down that country's vast oilfields and is reducing supplies worldwide. Last week Energy Secretary James Schlesinger warned that unless Iran's wells are pumping again by April 1-which is unlikely, given the complexity of the job of resuming production even if the political crisis is soon resolved-the Administration will have to take steps to clamp mandatory restraints on U.S. gasoline and oil consumption.

Until now the Administration has given the impression that the U.S. could ride out the loss of Iranian oil without man-diory cutheact is sufficient to the 100 Mey Delta Aday shortful in order the 800 Mey Delta Aday shortful in shutdown has so far been made up by increasing imports from other countries and favating down domestic reserves. But Schlesinger said that the Government would move more quickly than expected to cut consumption so that stockpless for concentrations of the stockpless for the stock

Schlesinger reported that his department is preparing "a variety of measures" to curb demand after April 1 if such moves become necessary. The most likely step: limiting the crude oil and gasoline made available to refiners and dealers. Another possibility is the mandatory closing of

Cars lined up for gas during 1974 crisis; below: ominous sign of new scarcity





Economy & Business

gasoline stations on Sundays and evenings. However, Schlesinger ruled out, at least for now, any resort to outright rationing of motor fuel.

Even before the Iranian crisis became acute, spot shortages of gasoline were occurring, largely because of tightened supplies of unleaded gas, which must be used in newer car models produced to meet fed-end antipollution laws. Unleaded gas requires about 10% more crude to produce than ordinary fuel, and the industry lacks the sophisticated refinery capacity needed to keep up with runaway demans.

The oil companies argue that the federal controls on gas prices that were imposed during the fuel panie touched off by the 1973 oil embargo discourage investment in new refineries because the revestment in new refineries because the return on investment is too low when compared with that produced by other operations. As supplies diminish, more and more oil firms are limiting deliveries of both leaded and unleaded to dealers. Two weeks ago Texaco joined American Petrofina and Phillips Petroleum in al-



Ready if needed: federal gas-ration coupor

locating supplies, and last week Chevron sought Government permission to take similar steps. Says Texaco Vice President Annon Card: "If demand keeps going up. we'll have even greater problems as we get closer to the peak driving season." Both Government experts and indus-

try officials agree that the surest way to resolve the problem is to lift price controls. But that is politically difficult because it would boost living costs and thus run counter to the Administration's anti-inflation drive. Last week the DOF estimated that gasoline prices would rise by about 9¢ a gal. under present price controls by the end of 1980, and by about 13c a gal. if the restraints were lifted. Though the department contends that decontrol would probably not greatly increase the premium on unleaded, now 4.4%, it agrees that under the worst of circumstances, the gap between prices for leaded and unleaded could increase to 8¢. Some experts fear that a big differential between the two kinds of gas would tempt motorists to use leaded in cars designed for unleaded. That would damage the car's antipollution gear and increase exhaust emissions

Though the Administration clearly feavors lifting price controls, it has by no means decided to ask Congress to do so, given the headaches the move could cause. As Schlesinger notes, "What I want, and what I recommend, may be two different things."

Trying to Measure Hardship

The national unemployment rate is one of only two economic statistics—along with the consumer price index—that regularly sith the political debate. Last week of the price of

But what does the rate really mean? Liberals grouse that it is too low, because it does not count people who are too "discouraged" to look for jobs. Conservatives grumble that it counts as unemployed would-be working wives and others whose oblessness exarcely planges families into povery. Since April, a congressionally soldessness carcely planges families into povery. Since April, a congressionally studying how to improve the unemployment figures. The group's preliminary conclusions, to be issued this week, will intensify the argument.

On balance, the recommendations would make unemployment rates slightly higher than now. Main reason: the commission wants to count as unemployed any discouraged worker who has sought a job within the past six months, vs. four weeks under present policy. That change, says the commission, would

raise the jobless rate by two- or three-tenths of a point.

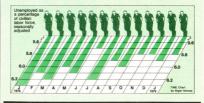
On the other hand, the commission would consider the U.S.'s 1.4 million servicemen to be employed. They are not included in the labor force statistics now; this made sense when most servicemen were removed from the ranks of job seekers by the draft, but is outdated in the era of the volunteer Army. Including them would reduce the iobless rate.

A much larger cut would result if, as some commission members urge, the Government raised from 16 to 18 the age at which an unsuccessful job hunter could be called unemployed. Advocates of this argue that so many 16- and 17-year-olds are students that no one can measure how many really want jobs and cannot find them. Others counter that the revision would hide an all too real problem of youth unemployment. The report leaves the ouestion unsettled.

Other recommendations would change the way jobless rates are used to guide. Other recommendations would change the way jobless rates are used to guide. Other recommendations would change the way jobless rates are used to guide recommendations are successful to be used to the commendation of the commendation of the commendation of the commendation of the complex recommendation of the complex re

A key question is to what extent unemployment figures chart real economic distress. They do not do this well at present, in large part because families in which both spouses work are now the norm rather than the exception; if one loses this or her job, the family can still get along. The commission wants to devise a "hardship index" that would count many employed people who labor at low-wage jobs and exclude the unemployed whose families still have sizable incoming the contractions.

But distress is tough to measure: at one point the experts were considering 18 hardship indexes. They are still undecided about what they will recommend when they make their final report next September, but it could contain some surprises, especially for liberals. One proposed index cited in the preliminary study showed that "hardship" actually declined between 1967 and 1976, even though the unemployment rate generally rose.





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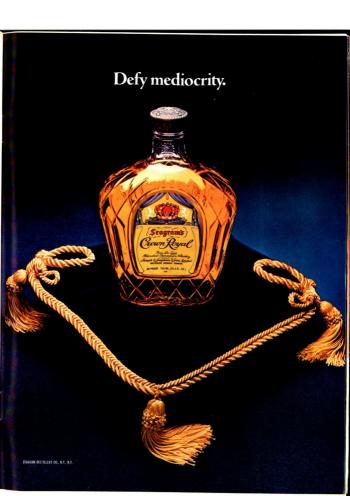
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Economy & Business

Savers' Bonanza

A \$10,000 hot ticket

S outhwest Bank in St. Louis is no finan-cial leviathan, but its starchy chairman, Isaac Long, 79, likes to throw his weight around when it comes to interest rates. In 1974 Long's bank (assets: \$150 million) became the first in the nation to cut rates after nearly a year of steady increases. Last week he was out in front again. He chopped Southwest's prime lending rate to its most credit-worthy borrowers a quarter-point, to 11.5%, touching off speculation that a climb of almost two years in the prime might soon end.

Even with interest rates at near record levels, the nation's inflationheated economy keeps puffing along anyway, and bankers fear that lowering rates right now would make inflation worse. At week's end only Chase Manhattan and some small banks had followed Southwest's lead. Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller, whose tight money policy is a key reason that rates have been rising, told a congressional committee that he would not be surprised to see rates remain high for some time

In fact, for many Americans, today's high rates have become a bonanza. The reason: since June, banks have been offering money market certificates. These are six-month time deposits that pay interest equal to-or when sold by a savings and loan, a quarter-point better than -what the Government has to offer to sell its six-month Treasury bills. And while regular bank certificates of deposit

normally cannot be had for under \$100 .-

CERTIFICATES

000, MMCs sell for as little as \$10,000: many people have switched their savings tothem

Their popularity has soared along with T-bill rates, which have climbed from 7.75% in June to a high of nearly 10% in January, although lately the rate has eased back slightly. Already MMCs account for a startling \$80 billion in deposits, and some bankers are wondering whether they were such a good idea. Their purpose was to keep banks flush with mortgage money, which dries up when in-

terest rates rise and people begin emptying out savings accounts to buy highinterest bonds. While the MMCs have prevented that from happening, they have also led banks into a tight profit squeeze. since they have had to pay more for their money as T-bill rates climb.

Unlike commercial banks, which can cover their costs by making high-interest installment loans, savings and loan banks are restricted to mortgages. In New York, Pennsylvania and other states that have usury laws, mortgage-rate ceilings are now lower than the rates banks have to pay on the MMCs. As a result, some S and Ls have begun using the cash they have received for MMCs to buy certificates of deposit paying 11% or more.

If the profit squeeze becomes too severe, the Federal Reserve could decide to put a cap on MMC rates, but an outright ban seems unlikely. Rates are bound to come down eventually.

More important, scrapping the MMCs would simply send depositors right out the S and Ls' doors again.

Pinto Ruling

A charge of company crime

n a decision that could have wide im-plications for corporations, an Indiana superior court judge last week refused to dismiss a homicide indictment against the Ford Motor Co. Unless Ford gets the decision overturned on appeal, the company will be tried on charges of reckless homicide. The charges, brought by a county grand jury, stem from an August 1978 accident involving a 1973 Pinto. Three girls died in the car when it burst into flames after being slammed in the rear

Ford has been hit with more than 50 civil lawsuits charging negligence in placing the Pinto's gas tank far in the back of the car, where it is vulnerable to rear-end collision damage. In June 1978, Ford announced the recall of 1.5 million Pintos built between 1971 and 1976 to remedy this defect, which does not exist in later models. But the Indiana case is the first in which Ford-or any automaker-has been charged with a criminal offense

The case is based on an Indiana criminal code provision adopted in 1977 permitting corporations to be charged with criminal acts: 22 other states allow this. Ford contended that it should not be tried ex post facto on a 1977 law for a car built in 1973 involving an accident in 1978. But the judge bought the prosecutor's argument that the charge was not based on the Pinto design fault, but rather on the fact that Ford had permitted the car "to remain on Indiana highways, knowing full well its defects." Manufacturers, said the prosecutor, should be "on notice that if they have a defective product, and know about it, they should do something about it." A jury will decide the issue when, and if, the case is tried.

Ben's Bad Calculation

ong-range financial forecasts can embarrass anyone-even so savvy a money manager as Benjamin Franklin. Eager to demonstrate that a penny saved is indeed a penny earned. Ben at his death in 1790 left a bit less than \$9,000 in trust for 200 years to the cities of Boston and Philadelphia; he directed that it be loaned to "young married artisans" who had finished apprenticeships and were setting up their own businesses. Interest on the loans, he predicted, would build up the funds to \$18 million by 1990.

No way. The funds were drained in the mid-19th century by defaults among borrowers who took the money and ran (illustrating another Franklin maxim: "Opportunity is the great bawd"). Today the trusts hold less than \$4 million: \$3.2 million in Boston (now loaned to medical students at 2%), and \$770,000 in Philadelphia (currently invested in mortgages). Boston Trustee Noel Morss figures that his city's sum will grow only to \$5 million by 1991, when it is to be divided between Boston and the state of Massachusetts under the terms of Franklin's will. The suggestion has been made that that sum be donated to Boston's Franklin Institute, but the legislative time and effort required to process such a transfer might well cost more than the \$5 million



The donor at his desk

Amexco Stalled

But the fight may go on

I American Express Cc is to win its batlef or McGraw-Hill Inc. the magazine, book and information-services giant, it will have to be will have to be degraw-Hill shareholds against their own management. That was aimst their own abruptly switched the tide of battle in one of Wall Street's biggest takeover wars

Amexco initially seemed likely to win. But its managers appeared stunned by the fury of McGraw-Hill Chairman Harold McGraw Jr.'s attacks on Amexco's "corporate morality" and unwilling to take the chance that further such assaults would blacken its reputation during a drawnout struggle. At the start of the week, Amexco Chairman James D. Robinson III raised the company's bid for McGraw-Hill stock from \$34 a share to \$40, or a total of almost \$1 billion in cash. But he promised not to make a tender offer to stockholders unless the majority of McGraw-Hill's board approved the bid-or at least agreed "not to oppose it by propaganda. lobbying, litigation or otherwise

The 13-member McGraw-Hill board did the exact opposite. At a 3½-hour meeting that some present described as 7-intense." the directors voted unanimously to reject the \$40 offer. McGraw apparantly won unanimity by harping on his own main arguments: 1) that an American different and additional methods of McGraw-Hill to the specially Business Week and the Standard & Poor's bond-rating service.

and 2) that Amexco President Roger Morley had committed a "serious breach of trust" by serving as a McGraw-Hill director while Amexco was preparing its bid—a charge that McGraw repeated in a letter to shareholders announcing the rejection

So American Express will suffer a stunning defeat—if McGraw-Hill shareholders are satisfied. A good number apparent-

ly are not: the \$40 bid is far above the nunket price of McGraw-Hill shares (\$30 last week). Harold McGraw's cousin Donald, who was forced out of his posts as a company group president and director, but was "annoyed," of the stock, said he was "annoyed," of the stock, said he was "annoyed, the stock hard the stock least negotiate with American Express. Though the chairman has called the Amexoo hid illegal, Donald McGraw dismissed that chairman has called the missed that chairman has called the said of the stockholders besuing to pass by the stockholders beprice."

Economy & Business

At least one stockholder has already distinguish gainst the McGraw-Hill management and others are expected in the low. Claiming that they were financially low. Claiming that they were financially low. Claiming that they were financially so that the stock of the sto

Though the suits are likely to drug on inconclusively for years, there also is talk of a proxy fight, possibly led by Donald McGraw, to unsett Harold McGraw to unsett Harold McGraw to the annual meeting in April and install a board that would negotiate with Amex-co. Two factors that will work in Harson olds favor if a proxy fight does begin last week he announced a 24% jump in McGraw-Hills 1978 profits. to a record \$6.17 million, and an increase in the quarterly dividend from 25e a share to 32.5e a share to 32.5e.

BONWIT TELLER

Clearance Sale

Another Fifth Avenue folding

anhattan's Fifth Avenue is a rugged road for fashion retailers. Those that have failed in the past decade include Best & Co., Arnold Constable and Peck & Peck. Now one of the street's very biggest names will disappear: Bonwit Teller. For most of its 80-year history, Bonwit's specialized in dressing well-heeled women in genteel elegance. But the store moved from mere affluence to a position of real fashion influence in the 1960s, when its sharp-tongued president. Mildred Custin. decided that Bonwit's should take the lead in promoting the designs of such emerging ready-to-wear pacesetters as Calvin Klein and France's André Courrèges and Pierre Cardin. Says a Bonwit's buyer, recalling the glory days: "We were trying to be a store that would tell the customer what is correct and beautiful

After Custin left in 1970 to form be own consulting firm, the store floundered. Over the next eight years Bonwis own-er. Genesco, the Nashville shoe manufacturer, brought in five different managers who came and went. After earning a 55 million profit in 1970, the Bonwis chain years of the control of the c

analyst: "The times changed, and Bonwit's didn't."

Last week Genesco Chairman John Hanigan, 67, announced the sale of Benmirs t welve-story Manhattan building and real estate leases to Developer Donald Trump for \$10 million. Allied Stores, a large retail chain, in sepotiating to buy Bonwit's twelve branches across the counry, which it would operate under the Bondeller name. But at Fifth Avenue and property of the country of the country

Erasable You

Ink that isn't

magine the possibilities signed business contracts could be unsigned. Inadverti-ten wills could be rewritten, love letters could hurriedly be made more for less lowing just before multing. Bostons 24 per level participated by the properties of the largest US permakers, will unable the work of the largest US permakers, will unable whose in his paring a new S1.69 refillable pen whose in his paring a new S1.69 refillable pen whose in his paring a new S1.69 refillable pen his paring his

could be the end of writing mistakes."

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comes permanent.
Paper Mate executives, who expect
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advance in pens since felt tips appeared in the 1950s. Says Paper Mate President William Holtsnider: "What we're doing is playing with the fundamental dynamics of writing." At the rival Bic com-

pany. a spokesman scoffs. 'This defeats the whole purpose of ink,' Indeed, mindful of the question of permanent records and forgeries. Paper Mate consulted the American Bankers Association, which advised that a cautionary note be printed on every least the printed on every some property of the printed of the printed on the printed on the printed of the printed of

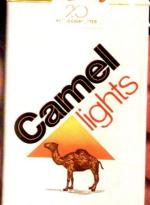


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Art



Dismantling an Opulent Fossil

Treasures from Ben Sonnenberg's mansion go on auction

n recent years it was the greatest pri-vate house in New York: not comparable to the great mansions of Fifth Avenue at their height of extravagance in the Brown Decades, but an astonishing survivor, a solid, heavy and opulent fossil, that went on living long after estate taxes had killed its rivals. It stood, 37 rooms of it, on the southern side of Gramercy Park, that most Jamesian of Manhattan's squares, and last week it was proceeding, slowly and irreversibly, to come apart, as the photographers, appraisers and people from Sotheby Parke Bernet moved through it, checking and cataloguing, preparing the four-day auction that in June will scatter the mansion's contents for good. What had been the background to a life had already acquired a museum glaze; the invidious perfection of the showroom lay, like a cold sheet of plastic, on every tabletop and drawing. Its memory circuits had been cut

The dissolution of 19 Gramercy Park is a sad sight for anyone who knew it in its former days, but it has a certain fitness. The house was a stage set; its natural fate was to be struck. The man who inhabited it, the producer, director and short, waddling star of the comedy of manners that unfolded in its rooms for some 40 years, was Benjamin Sonnenberg.

By a stroke of irony that he would, no doubt, have relished. Ben Sonnenberg died last September, at age 77, during the New York newspaper strike. Thus he had no obituaries of any size, and his passing, though mourned by friends, made little news. But then, Sonnenberg's profession was to be the midwife of stories, not their subject. He was one of the first modern public relations men. Indeed he had been at the game so long-"fashioning," as he once put it, "large pedestals for small statues"-that many people thought he had invented the p.r. business. He had not, but Sonnenberg outlived all its other pioneers, and was to ordinary flacks what Rubens is to LeRoy Neiman

gravitate toward people with money," he once said, with winning simplicity. The money brushed off like pollen; at one time or another. Sonnenberg handled the p.r. needs of CBS, Philip Morris, David Sarnoff, Lever Brothers, Samuel Goldwyn, Pan Am, Squibb, Pepperidge Farm and others too numerous to count. A prodigio host and incessant partygiver, he was Manhattan's equivalent of the "talking chief" on other, Polynesian islands-the chamberlain who enunciates the real chief's dicta to the tribe, or, as he put it himself, "I supply the Listerine to the commercial dandruff on the shoulders of corporations." As an American success story, Sonnenberg's was cast in the old epic mold.

He was born in Brest Litovsk in 1901. the son of a penniless old-clothes dealer named Harry Zonnenberg, who emigrated to New York, scrimped and saved, and brought his family over in 1910. The boy studied; he worked as a journalist; he ped-



The Pharaoh of Gramercy Park (1976)



The red ballroom-like salon served its prodigious,

dled tinted portrait photographs in the Midwest, worked as a \$25-a-week movie critic, and then wandered into a job with an American organization distributing food and medical relief to postwar Europe. Thus, in 1922, the young Sonnenberg went back to Europe-armed this time with a salary and an expense ac-count. He went to Rome, London and Paris; "the significance of having a man draw your bath and lay out your clothes. he told The New Yorker a quarter of a century later, "burst upon me like a revelation ... I think it was while feeding the people in Odessa, paradoxically, that I

first decided to become a cross between Back in New York, he started as a lowly flack, a pressagent. But he worked his way up so fast that, before the end of the Depression, he and his wife Hilda were able to move into the house on

Condé Nast and Otto Kahn.

Gramercy Park, which for years had been subdivided into poky flats. No. 19 had been built in 1845, rebuilt in the 1860s and finally remodeled in the 1880s by Stanford White. It had fallen into disuse and the Sonnenbergs, sensing their ideal domestic theater in it, began the long work of restoration, accumulating the furniture (Sheraton and Chippendale-pattern credenzas, hunt tables and German porter's chairs, a rare George III circular rent table), the 17th century English paneling for the William and Mary Room. the busts and knick-knacks, the paintings and drawings, the metalwork, and so on down to the 54 tablecloths, 624 napkins and 283 bath towels, which by 1950 had become necessary to the running of this large establishment.

The result was a collection that was a pure demonstration of its owner's fantasies. The clothes peddler's son from Grand Street was, at heart, a displaced Edwardian grandee, longing for the class



Sonnenberg was exquisitely conscious of dress as cos- Front-door k tume. In the '40s and '50s his

style of accouterment was a wonder of | Manhattan-cane, tight four-button suits, massive cuff links, a bowler hat, and a mustache that almost rivaled Dali's in local celebrity: not the zigzag antennae of the Spaniard but a drooping bunch of Habsburg bristle, which in his last years came to resemble the questing barbels of an old and sagacious carp.

s in dress, so Sonnenberg's obsessive A pursuit of relics and emblems. Every trophy was a souvenir, one felt, of some conversation he had missed but confidently expected to enjoy in the afterlife: the autographs of Tennyson, Swinburne, Thackeray, Kipling, Whistler and Wilde; the wall of Max Beerbohm cartoons; the portraits of literary figures, from Virginia Woolf and Ottoline Morrell to Wyndham Lewis and Dylan Thomas. Of the more abstract emblems, he liked brass. Nineteen Gramercy/ Park consumed more metal polish in a month, it was rumored, than all the Russian Orthodox churches of America in a year. Brass was the Anglophile's metal par excellence, and it was everywhere-kettles, candlesticks, urns, samovars, chandeliers, sconces, plates and mortars. Brass was to Sonnenberg what



bullion was to Ben Jonson's character Volpone: "Good morning to the day; and next, my gold! Open the shrine, that I may see my saint!

The result of this staging. this accumulation of many generations' residue in the span of 40 years' hard bargaining, was apparent the moment one crossed the threshold of No. 19. It was the basilica of gossip, the Vatican of inside dope. Its guests felt cushioned and cocooned in objects, lapped in the carpets and thick

soundless upholstery, protected by the military glitter of brassware. No other house in New York, perhaps none in America, conveyed so powerfully the impression that the outside world stopped at the front door and that all discourse, as a result, was in club.

This illusion seems to have affected every one of Sonnenberg's regulars, from rich old ladies to wary middle-aged politicos to shellbacked young journalists with the result that they all disgorged their secrets into Sonnenberg's ear. Consequently, the house was as much a business asset to Sonnenberg as, say, River Rouge is to Ford. "To the public," he once remarked, "the business I'm in still seems a flimflam, fly-by-night business. I want my house and office to convey an impression of stability and to give myself a dimension, background and tradition that go back to the Nile." And so they almost did; but with the death of the Pharaoh of Gramercy Park, the pyramid itself is being dispersed, the contents soon to be pecked away at auction by a thousand checkbooks. What mattered was the ensemble, not the parts; and the greatest masterpiece the house contained-ebullient, wry, kindly, vain and shrewd-was



partygiving owner as a screening room





A gallery of autographs adorning a circular stairwell; the master bedroom complete with George II carved walnut settee bed and brassware Replete with relics and emblems, No. 19 was a basilica of gossip and the consummate setting for a displaced Edwardian grandee

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Television

Recasting the Public System

New Carnegie report asks more money, increased independence

Twelve years ago, a Carnegie Commission report became the basis for the public broadcasting system in the U.S. By many standards the Carnegie model was an astonishing success. The number of TV stations grew from 126 to 280; more than 40% of all families in the U.S. now watch public TV at least once a week. In other respects, the Carnegie report paved the way to failure, and the organization Congress set up has become a bureaucratic control of the contr

Last week a second Carnegie
Commission issued another report to correct the system's
"fundamental flaws." Though it
has some good ideas, Carnegie II
is, like Carnegie I, excessively
timid, short on vision and long
on words—particularly long
words.

The major organizational fault of the current system is that it virtually assures conflict between the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which is a kind of guardian of federal funds, and the Public Broadcasting Service, which represents the individual stations. There is wholesale duplication of effort, and far too big a percentage of the TV budget is spent on administration rather than on programming. The CPB, whose members are appointed by the President, is overly sensitive to prevailing political winds, moreover. There is always a danger that a determined President will try to influence public television for his own purposes, as Richard Nixon did when he packed the CPB with his political pals.

Carnegie II recommends abolishing the CPB and putting in its place something called the Public Telecommunications Trust. The nine-member PTT board would still be appointed by the President. To protect the panel's independence, however, he would be permitted to consider only those names submitted to him by a committee of such notables as the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and the Librarian of Congress. To do away with the internal bickering, the PTT would also be deprived of the programming authority that the CPB now has. Programming on the national level would be the sole function of a new organization called the Program Services Endowment. The PRS would remain in place, and the individual stations would retain the right

to originate material of their own. The most visible change Carnegie II recommends would be the mormous increase in finding. Public more all some cases the receives \$450 million from all assets. The receives \$450 million from all assets the report wants to raise that to \$1.16 billion a year by 1985, about half of which would come from Washington. To offset a new drain on the Treasury, the commission proposes that commercial broadcasters be charged between \$150 million and \$200 million for the right to use the public state of the public stat



"Well, what'll it be? Channel 13? Or shall we just wallow in the vast wasteland?"

air waves. Local stations would be expected to drum up \$1.50 for each \$1 that they received from the Government.

When he started out on the project, says Commission Chairman William J. McGill, he thought that the U.S. should have a public network like the Buc. But have a public network like the Buc. But offer the start of th

Instead of seeking that BBC ideal, the commission has sought the possible —something that, like Carnegie I, would have a good chance of being enacted into law. Looked at that way, the report

is politically astute. President Carter, for instance, has already said that he wants public broadcasting, to be sympathetic to proposals that would be sympathetic to proposals that would mint his own power. Representative Line and Deering, the sympathetic power. Representative Line and the proposals that would be supported by the sympathetic proposals that commercial broadcasters be taked that commercial broadcasters be taked to help their noncommercial brithetin, and he will doubtless support that proposal.

For all their shrewdness, however, the commissioners may have underestimated the public's desire for a much stronger alternative to the commercial networks, whose faults are on display every night of the week. While it has tried to insulate

the system from politics with several bureaucratic changes, Van Deerlin notes, the report still leaves the public broadcasters dependent on regular appropriations. These must be approved by Congress as well as the President, and Congress this year has appropriated only \$120 million, or a little more than a fifth of what Carnegie II eventually wants. Says he: "To have a first-rate, fearless system, including news and public affairs programming, you have to take people out of political hock Van Deerlin questions whether the commission merely wants one unwieldy bureaucracy in place of another: "Maybe the change would be more cosmetic than real."

E qually troubling is the report's demand that local stations continue to go begging to corporations and the general public. Already, the administrators of many stations spend most of their time passing the hat, and controversial programming is often shelved for fear of offending donors. Says Jay Iselin, pres-

ident of New York's WNET (Channel 13):
"It's humiliating to spend most of your time getting up the dough rather than becoming involved in programming."

Frank Mankiewicz, president of National Public Radio, a network of 217 stations, doubts that these stations, which lack TV's glamour, could ever attract much money from listeners. "It's hard to get an audience for fund raising." he says, "let alone raise the funds." For NPR, the matching grant scheme could be a death sentence.

Neither Mankiewicz nor the other critics need worry, however, at least not for the moment. Congress and the President will have the final decision, and they may take their time before acting on this large but disappointing report.

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Christian Children's Fund. Inc.

Television

Longest Run

THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS PBS. 8 p.m. E.S.T. biweekly starting Feb. 14

ne of the chief complaints of the Carnegie Commission is that public television is too dependent on British imports. Coincidentally, PBS is about to broadcast the longest and most ambitious British series of all, the 37 plays of William Shakespeare, spread out over six years. The series, the Carnegie Commission to the contrary, will be public TV's greatest monument, a fitting demonstration of what television can be, should be and, in Britain, often is.

The series begins with Julius Caesar, then continues with As You Like It, Ro-



Derek Jacobi as Richard II

Sad stories of the death of kings.

meo and Juliet, Richard II and Measure for Measure, ending April 25 with Henry VIII. The plays are being produced by the BBC with Time-Life Television, which is putting up more than 25% of the \$14 million cost.

To keep the plays down to a maximum 21/4 hours, cuts have been made. Judging from a viewing of the first four plays, however, editing has been judicious, more the neat excision of a few lines here and there than the slaughter of whole scenes, a violence often done to Shakespeare. With some notable exceptions, the performances range from competent to brilliant, and a whole stable of Britain's fine character actors trot through the familiar minor parts: John Gielgud as the righteous John of Gaunt, Celia Johnson as Juliet's nurse and Michael Hordern as

The biggest surprise in the first four plays is Richard II, which is sometimes cited as one of Shakespeare's weaker works. Under the direction of David Giles, however, it takes on a new meaning, becoming an almost contemporary story of power used and abused. Derek Jacobi, who was seen last year as the hero in I. Claudius, portrays the childishness as well as the majesty of Richard, who tells "sad stories of the death of kings." No one has told them better, and Jacobi now should be numbered among the best actors in the English-speaking theater.

Another standout is Charles Gray, who plays the title role in Julius Caesar. Gray shows the fatuousness and vanity of the man, as well as his greatness. His Caesar could as easily be the chairman gray of the man as well as his greatness. His Caesar could are read to the chairman standard of the chairman standard from the chairman standard from

The weak actors look worse perhaps



Charles Gray as Julius Caesar
... and tales of power used and abused.

because everyone around them is so good. Producers often filtr with the notion of casting a young girl as Juliet, but they come to their senses in time. Producer Cestric Messina unwisely plunged shead. Here were the producer of the prod

Still. It is hard to imagine that the plays could have been done better in the U.S. The complaints of American actors and producers that the British are taking and producers that the British are taking study. Shakespeare at an early age and practice their craft, English actors are better suited to do Shakespeare." Messina are used to do Shakespeare. "Messina are used. Bestdes, the plays are their. There's no copyright. If the Americans want me the plays are the Good question."



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Books

Fifty Years of Total Waugh

The greatest comic genius since Shaw is still in style

evelyn Waugh fortified himself against his times with a moat of disdain, crenelated views and a castle keep of private devotions. He was raised in the middle-class London suburb of Golders Green, son of a modest publisher. At Oxford in the '20s he associated with the aesthetes, young men he later termed "mad, bad and dangerous to know." He graduated far from the top of his class, then taught school. Evelyn's experiences left him well stocked for his first novel, Decline and Fall (1928): "I expect you'll be becoming a schoolmaster, sir. That's what most of the gentlemen does, sir, that gets sent down for indecent behaviour." A young critic named Cyril Connolly spoke of Waugh's "delicious cynicism." Years later it was apparent that the vivacious style had been based on profound disgust.



Evelyn Waugh at 23



Waugh (left), Wife Laura (center), and the couple's six children in 1959

adopted the ways and means of a country gentleman. In a big house he lived surrounded by six children, his second wife Laura, servants, heavy furniture, mullioned windows and good bindings. He was never chatty about his work. On those few occasions when he lowered the drawbridge to journalists, Waugh remained grandly indifferent to explana-tions of his comic genius. He insisted, "I regard writing not as investigation of character, but as an exercise in the use of language.

He was even more emphatic about his intentions: "An artist must be a reactionary. He has to stand out against the tenor of the age and not go flopping along." As a conservative convert to Roman Catholicism, Waugh decried the aims of Vatican II, the un-Latinizing of the Mass and papal excursions too far from Rome

His own wanderings produced the raw material for most of his fiction. There are striking similarities between the African backgrounds in Black Mischief and Scoop and descriptions in his travel books. Military service in Britain, Crete and Yugoslavia during World War II supplied incidents for Men at Arms, Officers and Gentlemen and The End of the Battle. In 1965, the year before he died. Waugh published an edited version of the trilogy under the single title Sword of Honour. It is a masterpiece in which the author fully joined the two sides of his nature: the detached satirist and the chivalrous, disillusioned

Little. Brown's republication of Waugh's dozen best novels provides a fresh opportunity to appreciate how skillfully he balanced between satire and romance. Most important, these handsome new editions reconfirm Edmund Wilson's 1944 judgment that Waugh "is likely to figure as the only first-rate comic genius that has appeared in English since Ber-

Excerpt

Mr. Salter's side of the conversation was limited to expressions of assent. When Lord Copper was right he said, 'Definitely, Lord Copper'; when he was wrong, 'Up to a point.'

'Let me see, what's the name of the place I mean? Capital of Ja-

pan? Yokohama, isn't it 'Up to a point, Lord Copper.'

'And Hong Kong belongs to us, doesn't it?

'Definitely, Lord Copper.' After a time: 'Then there's this civil war in Ishmaelia. I propose to feature it. Who did you think of sending?

Well, Lord Copper, the choice seems between sending a staff reporter ... whose name the public doesn't know, or to get someone from outside with a name as a military expert. You see since we lost Hitchcock .

Yes, yes. He was our only man with a European reputation. I know. Zinc will be sending him. I know. But he was wrong about the Battle of Hastings. It was 1066. I looked

it up...' We might share one of the Americans' No. I tell you who I want: Boot

Do you read him? 'Up to a point, Lord Copper.' [Scoop, 1938]



The author with an ear trumpet A natural history of thoughtlessness

nard Shaw." Characters like Lady Margot Metroland, Mayfair hostess and procuress of Decline and Fall, Mrs. Melrose Ape of Vile Bodies, the American evangelist modeled on Aimee Semple McPherson, Basil Seal, highborn wastrel of Black Mischief and Put Out More Flags, and Lord Copper, publisher of the Beast in Scoop, still delight because there are always new grotesques to fill the shoes of Waugh's caricatures. And his work has more serious undertones: extrapolations The signposts of success are clearly lettered.

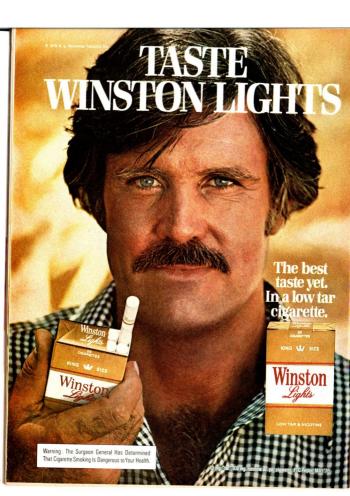


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Books

of what Waugh called "existing social tendencies" led him to premonitory visions of war during the '20s; his Africa of chaos and farce foreshadowed many follies of today's emerging nations.

Waugh's first wife ran off with a future baronet, and betrayal by women is recurrent in much of his fiction. The ladies are usually charming and never malicious, but they are prime examples in Waugh's natural history of thoughtlessness. Their egoism, stupidity, conceit and self-regard become the causes for both cruelty and comedy. In A Handful of Dust, for example, Brenda Last cheats on her husband Tony. He journeys to South Amerjungle madman who makes Tony read Dickens aloud to him for the rest of his life. Waugh's most savage literary revenge for past hurts occurs in Black Mischief. when Basil Seal unwittingly dines on his

The essential Waugh hero is a British Don Quisote dejectedly tilting at the 20th century. His troubles begin with a code of honor that is ill suited for campaigns in society or on the battifield. Humor is shaped by innumerable collisions with bad manners, bad writing, bad architecture and bad service.

Sea wyagga abound in Waught indeed he has launched more ships of fools than any other modern writer. There is also much seaschness that often resemble the state of the state

"His strongest tasies were negative," writes Waugh of Pinfold. "He abhorred plastics. Picasso, sunbathing and jazz everything in fact that had happened everything in fact that had happened charity which came to hump kindling of charity which came to him had been always and change it to boredom. There was a phrase in the thirties: It is later than you will be the stronger of the s

It is also never too late to read or reread Waugh. His vitality, matchless craftsmanship, audacious imagination and stinging perceptions ("She wore the livery of the highest fashion, but as one who dressed to inform rather than to attract") have not dated. Like Charles Ryder, the painter hero of Brideshead Revisited, Waugh focused "the frankly traditional battery of his elegance and erudition on the maelstrom of barbarism. No wrenching political or social change in this century would indicate that his novels are in danger of going out ofstyle - R.Z. Sheppard

Lonely Cosmos

by Bernard Malamud Farrar, Straus & Giroux 362 pages; \$10

Author Bernard Malamud, fed, is a messenger who brings the had news. His vision is firm and tragic, and a strain of Old Testament severity runs through his novels and short stories all of his characters either know instinctively or must be taught that life is real, earnest and achingly impermanent. As a consequence, Malamud's career has earned him awards and formidable respect but produced little dancing in the streets. He is an author easy to admire and hard to love.

Dubin's Lives, Malamud's seventh novel and first book in nearly six years. follows the uncompromising trail of his previous fiction and makes the journey memorable once again. William Dubin is a successful biographer in his mid-50s. Isolated by choice on nine acres of land in upstate New York, Dubin begins a new book, mindful of the vicarious nature of his craft: "One writes lives he can't live. The subject in this case is D.H. Lawrence, whose yawps about sex and blood consciousness seem designed to unhinge middle-aged intellectuals. Dubin proves no exception and soon takes up with Fanny Bick, nearly 35 years his junior

What follows is much more than simply another anatomy of a January-June mismatch. In Malamud & world, acts have consequences, mindless pleasures lead to reflective pain. Things start badly. Dubin takes Fanny on a quick trip to Ven-



Bernard Malamud

Yawps about sex and blood consciousness

"To be conscious that you are ignorant of the facts is a great step to knowledge."

Benjamin Disraeli 1804-1881

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Books

ice, hoping to feed on her vitality and youth, and gets the callow treatment he deserves. Stung, he returns home and holes up for a long, bitter winter of discontent: "He fought winter as if it were the true enemy: if he tore into it the freeze would vanish, his ills be gone, his life, his work, fall into place." Nothing helps Lawrence eludes the biographer, and the book grinds to a stop. Dubin's wife Kitty is jittery about becoming older, she misses the son and daughter who have grown up and left. So does Dubin, sinking ever deeper into depression: "I am in my thoughts a detached lonely man, my nature subdued by how I've lived and the lives I've written

Dubin's descent is painful to watch but thoroughly absorbine, for his struggle assumes heroic dimensions. He is smart enough to bear the responsibility for his anguish and strong enough to fight it. "Subjectivity sickens me," he tells himself." Hear myself fearing." Unexpected, but with the properties of the properti

more easily than he can give.

Too few novels offer a character who

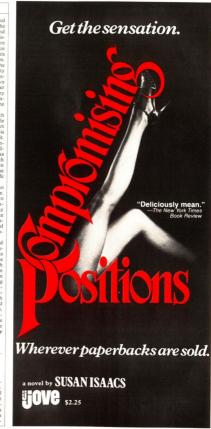
grows convincingly from page to page. Dubin's Lives presents not only the hero but the women around him. Kitty, Fanny, Dubin's daughter Maud all pull away from their orbits around Dubin and strike out in directions he cannot predict. Without uttering a single polemie. Malamud builds one of the sharpest images of women's liberation in contemporary fiction.

Independence cannot be achieved without heartbreak. Everyone suffers, especially Dubin. Near the end, he mourns being "alone in the cosmos," and the course of the novel proves him right. Such knowledge is harsh, but the acquisition of it is tinged with exhilaration. Dubin knows what he knows but goes on living and working. Similarly, Malamud's fiction is a hedge against depression; it conveys pleasure through its artistry, through its deft translation of ideas into events and living, breathing characters. Life may be, as so many Malamud characters discover, a matter of taking the good with the bad. Dubin's Lives is an example of the good - Paul Gray

Chiller

THE MAINE MASSACRE by Janwillem van de Wetering Houghton Mifflin; 256 pages; \$8.95

The demimonde of mystery fans is didivided into amateurs and professionals. What afficionado has not been confined in a summer cottage on a rainy day with someone who does not know about thrillers and keeps announcing every 40 pages who killed Roger Ackroyd or who has the key to the locked room? The connois-



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Books



Janwillem van de Wetering A landscape filled with seals and deer

seur knows that the fun of a suspense novel lies not in competing with the au-

thor but in admiring his craft There are amateurs and pros among writers too. One of the most influential pros is Ed McBain. He did not invent the police "procedural," but his 87th Precinct books have attracted several imitators, especially in Europe. The most famous is the Martin Beck series by the Swedish couple Maj Sjöwall and Per Wahlöö, who made their Stockholm cops into moody eccentrics and stopped their plots for digressions into psychology and politics.

he Dutch writer Janwillem van de The Dutch writes about Amsterdam policemen and the statutes and terrors that govern their lives, but this casual author makes Sjöwal-Wahlöö look like Ellery Queen. Van de Wetering's novels meander along, with asides on the foibles of human nature and gracefully written filaments of Eastern philosophy. The plot is announced early in the narrative and dispatched at the end as quickly as a victim. The author, 48, was once a Buddhist monk in Japan (he wrote about that arduous life in An Empty Mirror). He returned to The Netherlands, spent some time in the Amsterdam police force, and emigrated again, this time to Maine. The new book is set there, in a coastal town called Jameson, just below the Canadian border. The author's usual characters are on hand: the old commissaris, who has arrived in the U.S. to help his sister settle her affairs after her husband's sudden death, and his young sergeant, Rinus de Gier. The commissaris' brother-in-law is only one of several people who have lived on a peninsula called Cape Orca and who died or disappeared, leaving the land a

cursed place. The motive for all this is not very deep. The story would not be tenable if the local sheriff were not a very new man in the territory and his helpers foreign. As the old man notes, the townspeople are not mystified at all: "They know the country, the undercurrents." In The Maine Massacre, the plot is the undercurrents. The principal character is the snow. It isolates the town and stills all action. The escapes and chases that fill an ordinary story are stalled in Jameson. A marksman in snowshoes is the only prowling menace. In the commissaris' whining sister Suzanne, van de Wetering finds a way to spoof his native country and contrast it to Maine. The old lady lives surrounded by tacky reproductions of Dutch scenes and execrable examples of porcelain. Her brother briefly thinks that she may have killed her husband but concludes that he is overinfluenced by the fact that her meals constitute the foulest kind of home cooking.

Since van de Wetering lives in Maine permanently, he could have set his story during a summer tourist season or the fiery glories of autumn. Instead he takes the harder route: bare, muted landscapes filled with ravens, seals and deer. He is aware of the violence in the town and casual cruelty of the hunters. But the book's strongest writing is about the satisfactions of surviving a hard winter: wooden stoves. good drink, a safe journey home made in a blizzard. These are worth more than a tricky plot. Van de Wetering is an amateur who is good enough to get away with it. - Martha Duffy

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1. War and Remembrance. Wouk
- (I last week)
- 2. Chesapeake, Michener (2)
- 3. Overload, Hailey (3)
- 4. The Stories of John Cheever,
- Cheever (4)
- 5. Fools Die, Puzo (6)
- 6. The Coup, Updike (5)
- 7. Evergreen, Plain (8)
- 8. Second Generation, Fast (7)
- 9. The Stand, King
- 10. The World According to Garp. Irving

NONFICTION

- 1. Lauren Bacall by Myself. Bacall (3)
- 2. Mommie Dearest, Crawford (1)
- 3. A Distant Mirror, Tuchman (2)
- 4. American Caesar, Manchester (4)
- 5. The Complete Scarsdale Medical
- Diet, Tarnower & Baker (9)
- 6. In Search of History, White (7)
- 7. Jackie Oh!, Kelley
- 8. Gnomes, Huygen & Poortvliet (5) 9. If Life Is a Bowl of Cherries
- -What Am I Doing in the Pits? Bombeck (6)
- 10. Linda Goodman's Love Signs. Goodman

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Time Essay

Slogan Power! Slogan Power!

The lusty cry that roused the Highlanders of ancient Soutland for battle was called a Judney-neirm. A combination of the Gaelic words for host and cry, this rallying shout became signome in English and was over generations altered into staggone, stughtom, singurm and other variants, including slopen. From that came the modern word that embraces those catch phrases, mottoes, aphorisms and partisan whoops that are continually coined and used by every segment of Society, from poltiticans to Boy Scouts to terrorists. Slogans are, in fact, as common as schitcht.

The birth of the slogan itself, with whatever name, goes back to the start of history, as far back as human records occur, so do slogans. On the basis of its power alone, its potential capacity to unite people and move them toward either beligerent or peaceful goals, the slogan rates as one of man's most ingenious and economical verbal inventions. So the ubiquity of slogans in modern times is understandance in the superior of the slogans in modern times is understandance in to wonder whether time—and whose—of slogans has not at last resulted in a pe-

riod of fatigue, a sort of slump that might be called sloganosis.

ne Called Sioganosa. Nothing has nised the question Nothing has nised the question with the called the new form of the called the new form of the called the nise speech to the his State of the Union speech to establish his Administration's slogan. Although his staff has lat wo years to mull over the matter, what they came up with was something called New Foundation. It foundered. Some people yawned: others were derived the nine of the great side of the nine of the

ample of the general anemia that has beset sloganeering in recent years. Some believe, for example, that the commercial practice of the art has fallen into something of a slump partially because advertising now gives so much attention to researchbased claims that it has somewhat neglected the old stand-by.

For all that, slogancering is far from going out of style. The slogan is, after all, probably the best people mover this side of earthquakes, court orders and guns. A first-rate slogan is potent indeed when properly contrived. It becomes as easy to rememrhythm, rhyme, pith or brevity. Once there, it works not only by whatever imagery it carries but—more—by the latent emotions it mobilizes. It plays too on the verifies and prejudices of its audience, balming or inflaming them according to purpose. Just so, the slogan lufts as a ser or of floating book in the psychefield, to serifice, to vote, to buy.

Yet the power of rousing phrases was recognized long before anybody knew how or why it worked. Some equivalent of "Hail to the Chief" no doubt glued people to their governments from the moment tribes first formed, just as, later, did "Long live the King" History has left a litter of slogans from all its great events, civil as well as martial—and not only political history. After Pope Urban II in 1095 called for war to recapitate Holy Land, the spontaneous outcome of the great the Holy Land.

"God wills it"—helped fire up Christendom for the First Crusade. The translation of philosophy and doctrine into slogans has assisted in every major political turnabout, from Runnymede to Yalta. Indeed, the history of the U.S. can plausibly be capsuled in a litary of slogans. No taxation without representation. Give me liberty or give me death. Davi fire until you see the whites of their year. Let, you grappe rule. Horace Greeley or Calbritia-bound migration but even today conjures up appealing images. "Speak softly and carry a big skick bringsback the vanished world of Theodore Roosevell's America. Modern America." The war to end war. A chicken in every pot. We have nothing to fear but fear itself. Remember Pearl Harbor. We shall overcome. Hell no. we won its ow this Mindian now.

Today's slogans, too often unmemorable, still encode the directions in which people are trying to move their countrymen. Combatants in the abortion arena rally around "right to life" and "feedom of choice." Opponents of nuclear power cry. No nukes, while proponents answer that it is "safer and the country of the country

mand "gray power." Proposition 13, though a California event, has become 155 570 SULD the NEW AND TANKE AND THE MORE AND T

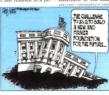
any more!

The cream of the contemporary crop of slogans is still found in the creations of the advertising trade, which of course was the first to exploit psychology and behaviorism to turn the art of persuasion into a quasi-science. The success of its catchwords is confirmed by retail sales figures that make even the national deficit seem a trifle.

More to the point, anyone can confirm the sticking power of business's best slogans simply by seavening around in the mind. Does she or doesn't she' Even your best friends won't tell you. Ask the man who owns one. Say it with flowers. Up, up and away. Pip now, pay latter. You're in safe hands. Ploy, up and way. Pip now, pay latter. You're in safe hands. Ploy, and the property of the pay latter. You're in safe hands. Ploy, and the property of the pay latter. You're in safe hands. Ploy and the pay latter flowers that the pay latter flowers the pay latter flowers that the pay latter flowers the pay latter flowers that the pay latter flowers the pay latter flowers that the pay latter flowers the pay latter flowers that the pay latter flowers the pay latter

Such a list could go on almost forever. This fact indeed suggests one possible explanation for the fatigue, or sloganosis, that diminishes the sparkle of the current slogan output. Could it be that we are witnessing a weird new form of inflation? Is it conceivable that just as an oversupply of months of the state of

There are those, of course, who would like to see slogarering die off entirely. Precisely because the art appeals to emotion, some idealists and intellectual purists disdain it in favor of col, rational discourse. This crowd is clearly trying to swim against a very strong human current. Moreover, they are undetouch with the problems of both leadership and the munan dilemma. The problem has never been to get people to hinks about doing something. The difficult considers have found that one of the best ways, for good or till, is to say. "Rally round the slone, folks." It is not time for a change.





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